

**VOLUME I**

**NUMBER 1**

# **SOCIAL EDUCATION**

**JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES**

**JANUARY 1937**

**PUBLISHED FOR THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES BY THE AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY**

# SOCIAL EDUCATION

Journal of the National Council for the Social Studies

ERLING M. HUNT, *Editor*

KATHARINE ELIZABETH CRANE, *Assistant-Editor*

## EXECUTIVE BOARD

ERLING M. HUNT, *Chairman*  
Teachers College  
Columbia University

CONYERS READ, *Secretary*  
*Ex officio*, Executive Secretary  
American Historical Association  
University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES A. BEARD  
New Milford, Connecticut

PHILLIPS BRADLEY  
Amherst College

ELMER ELLIS  
*Ex officio*, President, National  
Council for the Social Studies  
University of Missouri

MARGARET A. KOCH  
Fieldston School  
New York City

E. GEORGE PAYNE  
New York University

DONNAL V. SMITH  
State Teachers College  
Albany, New York

RUTH WANGER  
South Philadelphia High School for Girls

HOWARD E. WILSON  
*Ex officio*, Secretary-Treasurer, National  
Council for the Social Studies  
Harvard University

## ADVISORY BOARD\*

ROBERT I. ADRIANCE  
High School  
East Orange, New Jersey

JULIAN C. ALDRICH  
High School  
Webster Groves, Missouri

HOWARD R. ANDERSON  
University of Iowa

CHARLES C. BARNES  
Head of Social Science Department  
Detroit Public Schools

NELLE E. BOWMAN  
Director of Social Studies  
Tulsa Public Schools

MARY E. CHRISTY  
North High School  
Denver, Colorado

R. O. HUGHES  
Department of Curriculum Study  
Pittsburgh High Schools

GEORGE J. JONES  
Head of History Department,  
Secondary Schools  
Washington, D. C.

HORACE KIDGER  
Newton High School  
Newtonville, Massachusetts

A. K. KING  
University of North Carolina

JASPER J. STAHL  
The Hill School  
Pottstown, Pennsylvania

HARRISON C. THOMAS  
Richmond Hill High School  
New York City

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL  
Teachers College  
Columbia University

HARLEY S. GRASTON  
Woodlawn High School  
Birmingham, Alabama

EUGENE HILTON  
Allendale School  
Oakland, California

ROLLA MILTON TRYON  
University of Chicago

RUTH WEST  
Lewis and Clark High School  
Spokane, Washington

GEORGE F. ZOOK  
Director, American Council on  
Education  
Washington, D. C.

\* One-third of the membership of the Advisory Board will be changed every year.

Published under the authority of the American Historical Association with the co-operation of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Editorial Office: 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City. Correspondence in regard to manuscripts, reviews, and advertising should be addressed to the Editor.

Subscription \$2.00 a year; single numbers thirty cents

each. Address the American Book Company, 88 Lexington Avenue, New York City, or the Editor.

Membership in the National Council for the Social Studies, including subscription to its Yearbook, bulletins, and SOCIAL EDUCATION, \$9.00 a year. Address H. E. Wilson, Secretary, 18 Lawrence Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Published monthly except June, July, and August at Sloan St., Crawfordsville, Indiana, by the American Book Company, 88 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. Copyright, 1937, by the American Historical Association. Entry as second-class matter applied for at the Post Office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the act of March 3rd, 1879.

---

# SOCIAL EDUCATION

---

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT . . . . .	1
SOCIAL SANITY THROUGH THE SOCIAL STUDIES . . . . . <i>R. O. Hughes</i>	3
CO-OPERATING IN CITIZENSHIP . . . . . <i>Harold Fields</i>	11
THE NEW DEAL IN ACTION . . . . . <i>Harry J. Carman</i>	16
HOW TO STUDY WARS . . . . . <i>Robert I. Adriance</i>	23
A SOCIAL-SCIENCE LABORATORY . . . . . <i>Alice N. Gibbons</i>	30
BOOKS AND IDEAS IN ECONOMICS—1934 AND 1935 . . . . . <i>Robert L. Carey</i>	34
HAVE YOU READ? . . . . . <i>Katharine Elizabeth Crane</i>	45
NOTES AND NEWS . . . . .	53
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .	62
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED . . . . .	76

---

SOCIAL EDUCATION does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in articles, reviews, and other contributions that appear in its pages. It provides opportunities for the publication of materials, which may represent divergent ideas, judgments, and opinions.



## Textbook Leaders in the Social Studies

**Rogers, Adams, and Brown**

STORY OF NATIONS

**Thomas and Hamm**

MODERN EUROPE

**Ralph Volney Harlow**

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

**Clarence Fielden Jones**

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

**Ethel Culbert Gras**

DESCRIPTIVE ECONOMICS FOR BEGINNERS



**HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY**

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

SAN FRANCISCO

## NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

### 1937 YEARBOOK: EDUCATION AGAINST PROPAGANDA:

Developing Skills in the Use of Sources of Information about Public Affairs. In press for January publication, \$2.00.

**Bulletin No. 6:** Selected Test Items in American History, by H. R. Anderson and E. R. Lindquist, June, 1936.

**Bulletin No. 7:** A Guide to Newer Methods in the Social Studies, by George W. Hodgkins. In press.

Annual membership dues three dollars, including subscription to SOCIAL EDUCATION, to the YEARBOOK, and to Bulletins published during the year.

Address H. E. Wilson, Secretary, 18 Lawrence Hall, Cambridge, Mass.



## Editorial Announcement

THREE years ago the American Historical Association, in the capacity of trustee, as Dr. Beard then explained, assumed responsibility for the editing of a magazine for teachers of history, social studies, or social sciences. The National Council for the Social Studies co-operated closely, making that magazine its journal. Still holding to its purpose of insuring a magazine for teachers in all of the social-studies fields, still acting as trustee, the Association in even closer co-operation with the National Council now establishes SOCIAL EDUCATION, which will appear monthly, nine times a year. Though anticipating that the main appeal will be to teachers in junior and senior high schools, we are nevertheless aware that all levels of instruction are inter-related, and we shall not ignore elementary, college, or adult education. We recognize that, while some specialization is necessary to competence, nevertheless history, geography, government, economics, sociology, and social psychology are, in the schools, all fundamentally one, all concerned with the study of man and society. We hope to draw on all, and if from time to time related materials from literature, the arts, and the natural sciences are available they will find a place in our columns. These articles will, of course, be selected with a view to the practical needs

of teachers and to the realities of the classroom.

In the *Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools* Dr. Beard points out that "instruction in the social studies in the schools is conditioned by the spirit and letter of scholarship, by the realities and ideas of the society in which it is carried on, and by the nature and limitations of the teaching and learning process." With all three of these factors SOCIAL EDUCATION is concerned. The major findings, interpretations, and reinterpretations of scholars must from time to time be reported in book reviews, articles, or comments on new courses of study or curriculum experiments. The realities and ideas of our troubled and restless times must be described, analyzed, constantly re-examined and reinterpreted. Certainly the science of education and the art of teaching must receive due attention. Developments in the philosophy of education as well as in the organization of the social studies, changing educational psychology as well as classroom procedures, new practices in school administration and in "extra-curricular" activities as well as new teaching aids—all these need at least occasional attention from all who are engaged in social education. Of theories and new proposals we have no fear, if they are stimulating and suggest new possibilities to teachers.

Reports of experiments and procedures, either novel or long familiar, may similarly prove valuable to teachers who have a fear of unvarying routine. For those who work in the ever-changing fields of history and the social sciences some guide to new publications, including numerous professional journals and popular periodicals, is almost essential. New textbooks, readings, visual aids and tests need to be noted, described, and evaluated. These requirements of busy teachers we hope to supply.

**I**N all this, then, we are primarily concerned with providing a magazine for teachers—teachers concerned with man, civilization, and society, with introducing young people into their social, economic, and political world. Teachers need a practical magazine, a readable magazine, a stimulating and informing magazine. Of talent there is no lack, or, we are sure, of good-will. But if SOCIAL EDUCATION is to achieve its purpose

we must have the active co-operation of specialists in scholarship and the practice of teaching, of experimenters, of the experienced and the inexperienced, and of those who are conscious of needs and willing to call attention to them.

Meanwhile we present our first issue, pleased that the members of the Advisory Board continue their support of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies, encouraged by the co-operation of these associations and of the many individuals who have contributed to the issue, proud of the fine appearance of the new publication, appreciative of the interest and vigor of our new publisher. We invite your support, your comment, your suggestions and contributions in making a success of what now becomes, we hope, your magazine.

ERLING M. HUNT

*Chairman of the Executive Board*

---

# Social Sanity Through the Social Studies

R. O. HUGHES

---

**T**HERE are some who are, perhaps rightly, accused of taking themselves too seriously. They think, like Chanticleer, that the sun cannot rise without their help, and, if they fail to point with pride or view with alarm, the rest of the world will not know in what direction to move. I fear, however, that we who fly the flag of the social studies have not been guilty of that particular sin. I wonder whether we have realized the extent to which we may be responsible for the development of sound and dependable habits of thinking among our young people and for helping older ones form judgments and gain some assurance of casting their ballots in the right way.

Recently I heard a speaker quote, as if it were funny, a suggestion that by having more economics taught in our schools we might help to circumvent depressions. I do not believe that teachers of economics could have bestowed upon the great mass of American citizens enough intelligence to prevent all the blunders that have been committed.

As the Journal of the National Council for the Social Studies it is our privilege to print the presidential address delivered at Detroit on November 27 by R. O. Hughes of the Department of Curriculum Study, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the author of *Building Citizenship* and *The Making of Today's World*.

Yet I do think a more widespread understanding of economic laws would help to prevent the enactment of some silly statute laws and to produce a more serious attitude on the part of those who demand the passage of inane legislation.

The success in obtaining followers, which has been enjoyed by such persons as the Reverend Gerald Smith, Dr Townsend, and Father Coughlin, as well as numerous other manifestations of our public life, forces us to believe that we have not yet reached the stage where Democracy can be trusted to form its opinions without counsel from those who have made an intelligent study of the history and the problems of the human race. "It can't happen here" do we say? I am not so sure. But I am certain that "it" does not need to happen here. In times of stress it is not so easy to keep sane as in times of calm. Social sanity must be maintained, however, if society is to be saved. And where is there a better source from which it can be derived than through the medium of the social studies?

I am going to speak of three aspects of human thought or activity that demand a full measure of social sanity, in understanding, in vision, and in teaching.

**W**HETHER, as individuals and as members of society, we are to be leaders or followers, the problems of a democratic society are our problems. In order to lead or to choose leaders worthy of

our following we need all the sound learning and discretion we can acquire. In the first place we need a sane, keen, and full understanding of what the past has given us and what the present sets before us. As we read about the deeds of the men and women of the past, do they take into our minds merely the aspect of a story of things that happened? Do we make the contrary mistake of reading into them a justification of the opinions we want to hold? It was said of a certain literary character that he had been doing a good deal of thinking about an event of the time. "No," explained one who knew him better, "he is simply rearranging his prejudices." Why can we not be satisfied to approach open-mindedly the pages of history, content to read in them whatever lessons they may teach? And how important it is to select the most significant items out of the thousands we might include! I have no quarrel with a man who makes the acquisition of perfectly useless information a hobby. Perhaps for him it is no worse than golf. Yet, when history goes into the program of our schools, I do not want "history for history's sake," as I have heard it characterized. I want to know not merely what happened but why it happened. I do not care for a mere list of meaningless names and dates. I want to select out of the great mass of recorded facts those which will tell me and others something about the reasons why people acted as they did in days gone by.

How much misunderstanding has occurred because of perverted interpretation of the past! How much prejudice has been built up by a continued repetition of such false interpretation! For example, because our country more than a century ago was engaged in wars with Great Britain, too many of our children have gathered the impression that Great Britain is our mortal and eternal enemy, instead of being the one nation above all others whose political traditions, speech, and interests are most nearly like our own. How many times we have been told in the past that depressions

always come under Democratic administrations, and that good times and the full dinner pail were synonymous with Republican supremacy? With what result! Now when conditions have been reversed, popular distrust has turned in double measure against the party that used to boast about bringing prosperity; but the party now in power is, we notice, just as ready to claim credit because happy days are here again. Just as ridiculous a perversion of history is practised now by some who would like to have us believe that everything we once believed was wrong. Our constitution was made, we are told, by fifty-five men who wanted to protect some shaky investments. Then some one has the nerve to ask us whether we dare to teach the whole truth about the making of the constitution. "Surely we do," is my answer, "but Charles A. Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* is not the whole truth about it, any more than his *Open Door at Home* is the complete and final word on our economic program today."

WE are told that the Civil War was caused by Northern business men, and that after the war the Union was helpless in the hands of the corrupt Republican party. There is no denying that disreputable things were done in its name, but let us not go too fast. Let me read you a paragraph from a recently published textbook. It begins with the heading, "The New Republican Party," and runs as follows:

"It was natural, then, for these interests to seize upon the arguments of slavery and union with which to attract workers, Abolitionists, and sterling characters like Lincoln, to whom the saving of the Union was of primary concern. Thus the newly created Republican party carried on the traditions of Hamilton and the Federalists in their sympathy with industrial and financial interests. It was destined to dominate national politics thereafter."

A little further on in the same text we read:

"The Civil War and the Reconstruction period left the Republican party intrenched in power. Enthusiastic patriots, grateful manufacturers who pressed for larger tariff bounties, and capitalists eager to continue mulcting the nation of its domains in their construction



of railways and new enterprises were among its staunch supporters. The result was a prostrate Democratic party and a Republican party that controlled national, state, and municipal politics. No party in the history of the United States had ever held such unchallenged sway."

In other words, Lincoln and everybody else opposed to slavery were simply tools in the hands of Northern business men, who wanted to hold the South in the Union so that they could exploit it. Moreover, according to these authors, the Democratic party was down and out after Reconstruction.

Yet here are the facts. There have been sixteen presidential elections from 1876 to the present time. If you take the popular vote in the country in those elections, you will find that eight times the Democrats were in the lead and eight times the Republicans. By what right can anyone call that an "unchallenged sway" of any party? Moreover, by what right will anybody charge against the Republican party the abuses of New York under Tweed and Tammany and the misrule under the Democratic name in several other cities? The Republican machines of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh could teach the politicians of those communities very little. Such statements as I have quoted are not history; they are fanaticism handed to readers not in a position to realize their inaccuracy.

This same willingness to pervert history we see now exhibited in the desire to reflect upon everything this nation did in connection with the World War. Social-studies teachers as well as others have joined in the hue and cry that we went into the war to save the international bankers and to make money for the munitions interests. Anyone who went through that struggle knows that, however disappointed we may later have been at the results achieved, ideals far different from those seemed important to the people and to the government at the time.

May I offer also a protest against the extent certain writers have carried their proclivities for debunking historical characters? Of course George Washington, Abraham

Lincoln, and all the rest of our national leaders were human beings, and they probably displayed in their lifetime some of the weaknesses as well as the virtues of ordinary people. Yet what if George Washington did write letters to a young woman whom he did not afterward marry? He was neither the first nor the last to do so. What if Lincoln did make some appointments for other reasons than strict merit? He was neither the first nor the last president to do that. It is just as unfortunate for growing boys and girls to get the impression that all people in political life are crooked as it is to believe that holding office puts a halo around a man's head and purity in his heart. Let us strive to give a plain, honest, square deal to those who have been in the public eye, whether in the past or in the present, neither exalting them beyond their deserts nor condemning them unduly.

**T**HERE are many questions one may ask history to answer. This is an age of change, we are told, and we are expected to get excited over that fact. What are we going to do next? This is the question we are supposed to ask in our perplexity. Yet when was there an age in any history that was not an age of change? Who would want to live in a fixed and static world, with nothing to do but sit on our thumbs and watch the same old things happening in the same old way, world without end? Did circumstances make Abraham Lincoln or did Abraham Lincoln make his circumstances—or both? Substitute for Abraham Lincoln any other character you wish. If it is true that men have made their own circumstances or at least turned them in the way they wished them to go, there is encouragement for those who face the obstacles and dangers of today. If man is a mere plaything in the hands of events he cannot control, what is the use of anyone's attempting to be or do anything? Do leaders make events or do events bring forth leaders? Did George Washington make the Revolution or did he become rather the personification of the

purpose of a people determined to be free? Did Andrew Jackson show the way for the common man to rise to political power, or did he rather become the embodiment of a force that sooner or later was due to make itself felt in this country? If we must wait for leaders to tell us when we may hope to improve our condition, our case is far worse than if we dare to look hopefully for improvement, expecting that when the time is ripe some one will stand forth to command the march ahead. Is it fated from the beginning of time that certain things shall happen to peoples or to nations? Or do they have it largely in their power to choose the direction they shall go, and the undertakings they shall accomplish?

The questioning citizen of western democracies in Europe and in this country looks wonderingly eastward to see what has happened in mysterious Russia. Changes that centuries did not bring have been wrought in two decades. Shall we say that Lenin could do what God could not? Or shall we rather accept the interpretation that the church, which should have led the people steadily to higher and better things, so conducted itself as to choke even the channels through which divine power might have acted? Whether we shall seek the improvement of society by a sudden overturn of all that the past has built up or proceed more slowly toward those things which would make life better for all may depend upon the way we understand the past in Russia and in other lands. Are all people at any stage in their development ready for democracy, or must we expect that there will be times in which people may need to accept the domination of dictators, until they become strong enough to choose for themselves the course of the national life?

**O**UT of the wreck and change of the past some things abide that we cannot doubt. In studying the ancient Egyptians or Greeks have you talked about "those guys" as if they were some strange prehis-

toric animals? Man's fundamental wants today are much the same as those of men not only in ancient Egypt and Babylon but before those nations came into being. Men have always wanted food, clothing, and shelter. In fact, outside of these three things there is hardly anything that we could be sure everybody wants even now. Co-operation has been important to progress and to the satisfaction of our simplest needs. Even the cave man discovered the benefits of working with others, when he wanted to kill a wild goat or an ox to get something to eat or a new suit of clothes. As time moves on, co-operation takes thousands of different forms and seems steadily more necessary. Do moral standards abide? Some like to think they are "progressive" or "liberal" if they enjoy ridiculing what seem to others to be honor, decency, self-restraint, or religion; but history seems to indicate that, however morals and religion may seem to change, they remain vital in making life worth while.

#### SANITY IN VISION

**H**EGEL said that "history teaches this—that peoples and governments have never learned anything from history." "Never? Well, hardly ever," we might be obliged to agree. Over and over again has the lesson been taught that harsh vengeance inflicted by victors on vanquished is bad business in the long run. The North had not learned that, however, when it had to deal with the prostrate South after the Civil War. The Allies refused to believe it after the armistice was signed, and now they have Hitler and no reparations. What the victors of November 3 do with their signal triumph will show whether they are statesmen or merely conquerors.

Suppose, though, that we have attained some measure of intelligent understanding of the progress of the past and the problems of the present. How may we maintain the sanity of vision that will enable us to look ahead with sense and seriousness? Are ideals worth while? Shall we choose the easy way

of putting up with what we have, because we have never known better, or shall we plan for a happier and fuller life, because we have faith to believe it is possible of attainment? Then, too, if we have decided not to be content with what we have known, how shall we proceed toward the goal that we set for ourselves? What achievements seem to us soundest and most substantial, those that came as the result of patient, slow growth or those that were conceived and accomplished in haste? We did get rid of Negro slavery, but we made no proper preparation for the life of the black man when he was set free. Just a few years ago some of us thought we had put an end to John Barleycorn, but we did not realize how many friends he had or appreciate the fact that, if they were not educated to look upon him as better dead than alive, it was hopeless for us to expect him to stay under ground very long. We made the Blue Eagle our national bird a few years ago, only to find that he was a rather "ornery" specimen after all. Not even Hugh Johnson could keep him alive and in good health.

**M**OREOVER, what shall we say of those ideals set up for future days that are based on the assumption that men are happiest when they have nothing to do, and that thrift and personal enterprise are no longer of any importance? Rugged individualism, indeed, was not an unmixed blessing. We do require a social interpretation of our economic life that it has not received in the past. On the other hand, to expect a Utopia, in which all the cost of security and government is to rest upon the then non-existent rich, is another "iridescent dream." A sane vision for the future may look toward a time when there shall be free opportunity for every one to make the most of the talents he has. But we in the social studies have no business to encourage the notion that it is the government's duty to find a soft job for everybody, and that, if we do not like what is offered, we shall still be fed, clothed, and amused

at the expense of the whole community.

As this was being written, there lay before me a circular letter that bore along its left margin the names of over fifty persons of some importance, several of whom have been teachers or writers in the field of social science. What did this circular ask me to do? To vote for Norman Thomas or at least send a check to help pay the bills of his campaign. I am not going to quarrel with those whose hearts or minds or feelings have induced them to cry toward the old parties, "A plague on both your houses." I do not question, however, that vision of the future which takes it for granted that everything will be lovely, when not only supervision and restraint but also the actual operation of all our fundamental industries has been thrown into the merry-go-round of politics.

The readiness with which some politicians, high and low, have shifted sides in the last three years seems to me fairly good proof that we need something deeper and more profound than the substitution of another party for the two that have ruled this country for well toward a century. First we must firmly establish the principle that government is conducted to serve all the people and not the winning faction. Then and then only, as I see it, will it be safe to talk about turning over to the hands of the government the administration of all the vital industries of a nation's life. I would not want you to think that I have no care for the under dog, or the forgotten man, but I do believe we need to realize that laws which might make a man a mere recipient of a dole are a poor substitute for the spirit that will encourage him to want to do an honest day's work for a reasonable return. Moreover, if he can, by enterprise and fair dealing, lay by enough so that when he is old he will not be a charge on the state, let us not hate him for doing so.

One of the most discouraging things we hear is the report of wars and rumors of wars across the water. Shall we give up hoping for world peace on that account? Not so,



I insist, if we stop to think that in twenty years we have talked more about the possibility of peace than in twenty centuries before, and if we appreciate the fact that war is deadlier and more expensive than it ever has been before. At the same time, the world citizen of sane vision does not expect, by making himself defenseless, to escape the fate that has so often come to those not on their guard against greedy and conscienceless foes. He does not imagine that merely by passing a neutrality law he will keep all peril three thousand miles away. The time might come when neutrality in the face of world-wide menaces would be deadly. Neither are we going to prevent strife by passing resolutions that we will not take part in any war. Our very cowardice may be just the encouragement for which brutal selfishness is waiting. The way of life that we have today, it has well been said, has been bought by blood and may need to be purchased at the same price again. If we do not care to defend our liberty and our democracy at whatever cost, we may find that liberty and democracy will die among us, as they seem just now to have died among some peoples across the water.

In spite of all the doles and the distress of depression times, the human race as a whole is, in many ways, living on a higher plane than it ever did before. Think of the many things that even the richest man could not have in his early boyhood, the telephone, the radio, an anesthetic to ease pain, the airplane, the electric light, and countless others. Think of the many things, now done by machinery that once required laborious physical toil. Think of the public libraries and public schools provided with considerable liberality. If with all our mistakes we have done so much, may we not hope to do still better in the future?

Even that vision may be an attainable one, which the poet saw with his mind's eye, when he wrote of the time "when the war drums throbbed no longer and the battle flags were furled in the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." If

we really want to reach such a happy day, every principle of human association tells us that we must abandon our selfishness and our unwillingness to risk something in order to save much. Our former superintendent in Pittsburgh said once very truly that "the world will not be saved by one man saying the Lord's Prayer once." Neither will it be saved unless all the leaders among the nations of the world—that includes ourselves—accept their share of responsibility for advancing the cause of world peace and brotherhood.

#### TEACHING FOR THE FUTURE

**N**OW to come to the third aspect of our quest for social sanity. We who are engaged in teaching have a special responsibility in the guiding of our boys and girls into sound and sensible lines of thinking and into purposeful determination to act for the achievement of better things. What shall we do about it? Charles F. Lewis of Pittsburgh in a recent address set forth attitudes that he believed the young people of today should be helped to establish within themselves. His words I will quote in spirit though not in exact language. Through the social studies and the practice of good citizenship in school and community life he finds the surest hope for their attainment.

First, he says, the young person should grasp the idea that the world owes him nothing and that he owes the world everything. In meeting this obligation he can make no down payment but must make partial payments as he goes along all through life. Albert Einstein expressed a similar thought in an address commemorating the tercentenary of higher education in America: "A successful man is he who receives a great deal from his fellowmen, usually incomparably more than corresponds to his service to them. The value of a man should be seen in what he gives and not in what he is able to receive." Today how often the young person is told just the opposite and led to believe that society owes



him not only a living but a "more abundant life," whatever that means, whether he loaf or works! In the second place, the young person who has the right attitude will accept the responsibility not only to be registered and to vote but also to understand the issues of campaigns and the probabilities that candidates for office will or will not keep their promises. Third, the young citizen will abide by the will of the majority. He need not accept the will of the majority at any particular time as final, if he thinks it is the result of an unwise choice. It is within his right to work for the change of an unsound policy, but he will not refuse to submit to the choice of his fellow citizens, when it has been made honestly, even though mistakenly. Fourth, the young citizen will desire to hear both sides of a question and will seek to weigh without prejudice the arguments that may be offered to support or to refute a particular proposition. Fifth, he will display that intellectual modesty that characterizes one who realizes that he knows little but wants to learn much more.

If our young people are to acquire these attitudes, there are several skills they must develop by constant practice. They must learn how to read and interpret the newspapers and the magazines and to listen to the radio and to public speech without being carried away by a pleasing flow of words, a charm of personal manner, or a previously implanted prejudice. They need the ability to understand the background of what they see and hear, for, if they have only the present to help in making choices, they are much more likely to be misled. The competent young citizen must know how to obtain information independently. He must not expect always to have even the kindest and most trustworthy teachers and counselors to help him. He must be able to work "on his own." Furthermore, he should be able to think through a problem rather than to form a superficial opinion on the basis of only partial knowl-

edge. Bertrand Russell declared that "mankind fears nothing so much as thought—not even death." We must somehow remove from the youth this fear of thought and make thought a habit. Moreover, the youth should have practice in expressing his thoughts so that he may converse intelligently and write effectively about the questions of the day. He should be eager to take whatever part he can in making the life of his own community, as well as of larger groups, as sound and as well administered as possible.

Now, who is to help him to do this if not we of the social studies? A dumb democracy is the teacher's opportunity, it has been said. But how? Shall we tell our pupils what they must think or how they must act? No. It is far better that we content ourselves with helping them get the information they need to make their own choices and with giving them practice in discussing all sides of disputed questions. What if the entire membership of a class does not reach just the same conclusion! Their elders have not always done so. Perhaps we can by patient example and careful instruction induce young people to differ courteously and to use arguments that bear upon the question, instead of indulging in the calling of names and the setting-up of straw men to knock down.

May I stress right here our opportunity in the field of the social studies to emphasize the importance of the cultivation of the virtue of tolerance? In a free democracy there is room for all shades of difference of opinion. The mere fact that some one thinks we could possibly improve some of our ways of doing things here does not justify us in assuming that he is in the pay of Moscow or is any other kind of Communist. Neither does the fact that some one else dares to criticize some feature of the New Deal justify any one in calling him a Tory or an economic royalist. There may even be some thoroughly honest and well-meaning persons enrolled in the Liberty League.

SANE instruction in the social studies will not be a matter of compulsion but of interest. Oh yes, we may have to compel some persons to learn some facts that at the time they would rather not be bothered with. We may even have to require them to spend time in a social-studies classroom, when they would rather be playing football; but something is wrong if a teacher cannot uncover, in almost any aspect of the social studies, something real and vital. The truest test of successful teaching is found in the interest that pupils show in a particular field of study, after they no longer get marks for exhibiting that interest. A teacher who can inspire a pupil to feel that his relations with his fellow men, whether they are in the field of business or politics, or governed by physical environment, are of real significance to himself and to others, has accomplished something that can never be measured in grades or in money but is far more important than either.

Some of our pupils, we may hope, will become scholars in history, political science, sociology, geography, or some other field; but, quoting Albert Einstein again, "the school should always have as its aim that a young man leave it as a harmonious personality, not as a specialist." Our prime concern should be with those who are interested in the social studies because all the human race is concerned in them.

Shall we who are teachers try to impress upon our pupils the duty of building a new social order, as we have been challenged to do? Some tell us that one of the finest achievements of the new order in Russia is in convincing young men and

women that they have a vital part in making the new kind of state. Should it not be just as much a source of pride to the boy or girl of Great Britain or the United States of America to have a part in building a real democracy? For myself, I do not believe that we teachers of the social studies, individually or collectively, have a clear enough vision of everyone's needs to map out a plan and say to our young people, "This is the society you are to make." Rather, let us lay before them the best thoughts we can get from the experience of the past. Let us give them opportunities for considering and judging the proposals for building society that may be advanced by any one. Then we can, I think, safely trust the outcome of the day, not so far ahead, when the young people whom we guide and counsel have to make decisions that will affect the government and life of a nation and, perhaps, of all mankind.

THREE things, it has been well said, it is the duty of the teacher to furnish to those who come under his care. Important as are and always will be the three R's, these three I's are still more significant: information, illumination, and inspiration. The knowledge on which intelligent thinking must be based constitutes the information. The examples, the precepts, the experiments, and experiences that cast light upon the problems of today furnish the illumination we need. From the inner resources of the teacher himself must come the inspiration to practise the precepts and ideals that we have taken as guides and the determination to overcome obstacles in order to achieve even the impossible.

---

# Co-operating in Citizenship

HAROLD FIELDS

---

**H**ERE is a story of the efforts to train the youth of one particular community to live intelligently in a democracy and to mold political and economic forms to new conditions. The idea was born of the currently accepted theory that the schools should be functional and be research laboratories operating through the curriculum, the pupils, and outside agencies for the development of citizens able to help create a happier state. Being so born, it was carried out with the idea that to teach otherwise was to be guilty of pedagogical astigmatism. If we forget the old precepts of civics and begin to think in terms of an active citizenship that is to be lived, we can make of our educational processes something that will pulsate, that will provoke action and common, personal interest. Citizenship will no longer be a study of executive, legislative, and judicial departments, but a vitalized part of our daily lives.

Such an idea was behind the communal plan undertaken at the Benjamin Franklin High School in New York City. What makes it particularly interesting is the fact

that, if the experiment proves successful, it should be adaptable to many other schools, since the material with which it has to work is as "marginal" as any one could create. The section this high school serves is essentially foreign-born in its population; its juvenile delinquency rate is unusually high; its homes are cold-water flats that frequently house more than one family; with few exceptions such recreation space as is available is limited to streets, docks, and river fronts; its sense of community interest and pride is sadly undeveloped; and most of the families in the neighborhood are on relief or, in more instances, unemployed. Any successful experiment, based on materials of this sort, can easily be emulated in any other setting, since the plan has been put to its hardest test. There have been noted definite trends that merit serious consideration, and it is these trends and the approach made to them that constitute an interesting story in a modern community-school venture.

## FAMILY TIES

**I**T was felt that, as basic to the whole program, a primary effort should be made to improve the relationship of the family. So long as there were conflicts between the first and second generations, so long as civic values taught in the classroom were violated or non-existent in the home, just so long were the cardinal elements in civic training being vitiated. The problem was to develop a program of correlation of interests between the two generations, to

As head of the social studies department of a great city high school, the Benjamin Franklin High School of New York City, the author has faced his pupils' peculiar problems of adaptation to social environment, and in this article he describes some aspects of a dynamic solution.



educate each to respect the other, and to imbue both with a spirit of co-operation leading toward a better and more intelligent citizenship. Several projects were initiated. First, the school was given a core program concerning the citizenship of the foreign-born. The boys' interest was aroused in their parents' naturalization status. Pupils addressed school assemblies on the subject of why boys and girls should be interested in the citizenship of their parents. Talks were given in class. Students spoke on this topic before neighborhood junior high and elementary schools stressing the need of giving parents a better understanding of American standards and customs through a knowledge of the English language and pleading for a sense of oneness and pride in the country of adoption. At the same time they emphasized the negative reasons for citizenship, such as possibility of alien registration, deportation, loss of jobs, and other material considerations. A definite time and place was set aside for giving naturalization aid, and soon parents were flocking to the school with their sons, who frequently acted as aides and interpreters for the parents. A natural interest and concern in the parents' status had been stimulated, and the boys themselves asked that this service be continued for several months.

The parents showed their appreciation of this community project by coming to the school for the first time. Among them were more than five hundred alien mothers and fathers who were assisted in applying for their first or second papers. They came from Armenia, Austria, British West Indies, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Russia, Roumania, Scotland, Switzerland, Turkey, and the Ukraine, representing half a world. The boys had observed the fact that social welfare, naturalization, and racial organizations had co-operated to solve their own and their families' problems. Soon they were being placed on committees along with the adults.

As a fitting climax the boys and the committees recommended that these parents form a society of "New Americans" to discuss local and national issues, to mingle socially, and to develop a sense of unity and interest in Americanism.

In this type of community, where respect for parents is often lost in poverty and in an attitude of "those damn foreigners," another experiment was tried in relating the subject matter of the class to an improvement in family relations. Just before February 12, the department of social studies instructed students to learn what their parents had known of Abraham Lincoln abroad, and how they had obtained that knowledge. Just before February 22, the same lesson was assigned for George Washington. The responses awakened the boys to a realization that their own parents knew something of American history from their European experience. Parents recited tales they had never told before, and a pride and interest in parental background were awakened, where before there had been only a void or a presumed basis for contempt. Russian parents knew Lincoln through letters from emigrant neighbors who were his contemporaries; they admitted, however, that they had not heard of Washington in school because Czarist Russia had been afraid to extol the life of this "revolutionary." Irish fathers told how they had thrilled to the story of Washington—the man who had dared lead his people away from England. One German grandmother remembered how the newsboys in Berlin had "extra-d" the assassination of Lincoln. Sicilians knew Lincoln's name because many streets and squares were named after him. Italian parents had studied the lives of such great liberators as Garibaldi, Washington, and Lincoln in the fourth grade of the elementary schools. One Hungarian mother told with pride that there had been framed in her doctor's office a picture of Washington, Kossuth, and Lincoln, and remarked on the veneration the doctor had shown in telling her and other



patients of their deeds. Through all these interesting tales, an assignment in history became the common denominator for a reciprocal lesson for parent and child. Over fifteen hundred reports were turned in, rich in content, but richer in home potentialities. One boy asked, "Where can my parents learn English? They ought to be able to tell others what they told me in Italian."

As a result, home and parent assignments are now being prepared by the economics department for problems in standards of living, consumption, labor conditions, and other current issues; by the civics group for block surveys; by the citizenship classes for industrial and mercantile surveys, and for other subjects. In fact, some parents have already good-naturedly complained about "too much home work"! Yet all of these assignments have helped to link home and school closer together so that in its efforts to train boys to be better citizens through improved attitudes, knowledge, habits, and performance the school is slowly but surely being complemented instead of hampered in the homes.

#### PARENTAL EDUCATION

WE recognize the fact, however, that to endeavor to reach the parents through the medium of the English language alone would tend to preserve the chasm that separates them from all things American. The only bridge over that chasm is their native speech. Therefore, letters announcing parents' meetings were written in the English, Italian, Spanish, and German languages. A translating staff communicated notices about pupils in the same manner. Italian WPA workers were sent to Italian homes, and Spanish WPA workers were sent to Spanish homes, to discuss school or pupil affairs. The first session of the Parents' Association concluded in enthusiasm. School songs and native folk themes had been sung, talks had been given in the different languages, and an appeal had been made to the parents to know what their

boys were doing at all times, and not just when they were sent for owing to difficulties. All were urged to learn English, so that they could understand each other. From a group of slightly more than one hundred, the association grew to four hundred in three months and is still growing. Parents who never thought in terms of school visits, and to whom the school building was a foreign world, began to interpret the school's facilities in terms of their own lives and homes.

Present plans call for forums, discussion groups, adult education projects, use of school rooms in the evenings, and other means of developing a spirit of civic interest and personal improvement.

In addition to all this we have undertaken to improve home environmental conditions. We made a housing project the basis for a full week's program throughout the school. Models, graphs, charts, and huge photographs were displayed in the school library. Classes were excused from regular periods to study these exhibits. Parents and representatives of social agencies were invited. Again a school topic was made the basis for home discussion. Community interest continued to increase. The need for proper play space became evident, and soon afterward arrangements were made for the introduction of a bill in the municipal assembly to convert the school street into a play street. The school co-operated in arranging an aldermanic hearing on the bill to which teachers, parents, and community agencies were invited to come. Their concern in this citizenship project was forcefully presented, and the bill passed.

#### COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENTS

FROM these interests we turned to vocational needs. Secretaries of chambers of commerce and vice-presidents of local banks addressed our boys on the problems facing them when they entered business. As business men and in business men's English, they spoke of courses, attitudes, and expectations. They were followed by

representatives of the state employment service who told of unfilled positions. Individual contacts with the speakers were made. Through the school's vocational counsellor and the placement worker openings were found, and boys placed. The pupils sensed the fact that their school was one of service as well as one of instruction; they saw that it was in direct touch with the outside world and that it was interested in boys as individuals really preparing for jobs.

Various welfare agencies were invited to participate in all these efforts. Health clinics were utilized in the solution of family problems. Settlement houses, business groups, and boys' clubs were enlisted. The police department, the crime prevention bureau, and other agencies met at the school to consider means for cutting down the juvenile delinquency rate. The captain of the police precinct agreed to receive all potentially bad boys with his office at the station house as a psychological background. In this harsh setting, dressed in full uniform, the captain, instead of giving the boys the browbeating and threats that were anticipated, indulged in a man to man talk on the uselessness of anti-social performances. It is hoped that such a conversation with "the man who knows" may save many a boy to whom the gangster is still a hero.

Big brothers are to be used for tutoring slow boys and for discipline. These are not big brothers from outside agencies, but, instead, big brothers from the students themselves, preferably the heroes of the gridiron and the baseball field or the officers of the general organization. It is to be noted also that, with so great a responsibility, the big brother himself will be stimulated to his own ideal of citizenship.

Racial problems constituted another question for consideration. When public attack was made on one of the predominant nationalities of the neighborhood, a committee was appointed to weigh the charges. Reference was made to the school records

of pupils of that race as a measurement of their intelligence quotient. Meetings were arranged, studies were made, answers to the charges were submitted; and the rebuttal was clearly and firmly given in the press. This was a real application of Americanization in the interests of the school's own community. The work that was done made more vivid the need of a true, real, and concrete program of citizenship.

The Benjamin Franklin High School went further. It organized a juvenile court, presided over by understanding citizens, in order that no stone should be left unturned to spare these lads the lesson of the police station and of the court room. Rather, through the aid of these men and, in many cases, of selected students, the effort was made to help them and to guide them wisely. The police system mentioned before was to be corrective; this plan was to be preventive in character.

To carry on these purposes still further, a club was formed to which all boys who had left school before graduation or who were discharged during the school term were invited to belong. This is the group that usually causes the greatest number of social problems, the group that is unable to find itself and unable to find work. Without any anchor its members become drifters, socially and economically. This is the group that needs help and rarely finds it. By the formation of a club of this sort, we hope to guide the boys and to advise them tactfully. If their confidence can be obtained, theirs will be a more satisfying existence.

#### SCHOOL CO-OPERATION

MUCH of all this has been suggested in other community and citizenship programs, but the program carried out at the Benjamin Franklin High School involved two particular factors that made it unique. First, it sought to enlist the aid of all the schools in the neighborhood. It invited the support of superintendents and principals. As an example, when naturalization week was announced, the principals

of many of the local elementary and junior high schools sent letters home to every parent with invitations to take advantage of this opportunity offered at the high school. They arranged for the high school boys to address their assemblies. It became a joint project of the high school, the boys themselves, and the lower grades. The elementary and junior high schools were asked to designate members for all committees. Nothing was done without their participation and consent. The superintendents in charge of the schools in this district agreed to arrange for a joint meeting of schools of all grades to see how the plan could be furthered. Emphasis was laid on the need for making citizenship real and personal. We insisted that citizenship training was not the sole property of any one school, and that unless all fused their contacts in educating parents as well as pupils no community consciousness could be attained.

The second unique factor was unquestionably the more important and significant. It lay in the fact that we placed our high school boys on every one of our committees with adults. They sat with city department heads, with social and civic workers, with representatives of business men's groups, and they not only gained a valuable understanding of civic problems but also were urged to present their views and their criticisms. The views of the boys were definitely a help in correcting situations that we had not considered at all, and our mature judgments gave these boys cause to realize the impossibility of "changing the world overnight." The mere fact that the boys were treated as equals spread through the school as the boys made their reports. This one factor helped build up a spirit of co-operation that meant deep respect and open-mindedness instead of intolerance and impatience with the older generation.

#### SOME RESULTS

**T**HE results? Certain attainments have been observed. The boys in the school seem to show definite improvement. They

were rather an unruly lot at the outset; today the problem of discipline is not so pressing. The gangs on the block have disappeared, the window panes in the school remain intact, the paucity of play space is being corrected, the question of better housing has been broached. The realism of their school has given those in contact with it a feeling of maturity. That feeling is young, but it is growing.

More than that, they are becoming interested in the problems of their parents and their community. They are learning to respect their own cultural heritage. They are developing a pride in ancestry, and that goes a long way towards improving citizenship. They are becoming interested in problems of social security, unemployment insurance, nationalism, culture, literature, music, not as objective studies but as vital personal and family issues.

Also these boys are observant of the fact that this work is being done for them, not alone by the school and the immediate community but by the Works Progress Administration workers as well. A real adult education project has been established in the school building to help make this possible. Research workers, field visitors, staff employees, individual tutors, secretaries, and administrators are co-operating to develop something that will be real and purposeful. We had the conscientious and invaluable aid of the WPA in selecting the workers, and the boys look upon them as fixed parts of the school's personnel.

Nevertheless, the school's greatest contribution, its best answer to the modern challenge to the high school, is to be found in that intangible but important item, a sense of personal citizenship. The work of the Benjamin Franklin High School has resulted in developing citizenship as something real and concrete—not the kind of patriotism that contents itself with signs and empty protestations, but one for which the desire, the intelligence, and the willingness to work for the solution of community ills is existent and personal.



---

# The New Deal in Action

HARRY J. CARMAN

---

**A**T the outset I must tell you that I have felt free to enrich my own observations of the New Deal in action on an eighteen-thousand mile journey across the continent, by drawing upon documentary material and upon the observations of others.

From the beginning of the trip in February, 1936, to its end I was much impressed by the absence of transients along the highways. There have always been migratory movements in America: pioneers moving to new lands, miners moving from one area to another in search of quick riches, country folk moving cityward, and, in smaller numbers, city dwellers moving countryward. Southern Negroes in search of opportunity have moved northward. The aged, tubercular, and the infirm have sought the much visited milder climates of Florida, California, and the Southwest. The Depression loosed a veritable flood of transients, who streaked the highways in search of employment.

Notwithstanding those New Deal mistakes that he deplores, Harry J. Carman, professor of history at Columbia University and chairman of the history department of Columbia College, in this address to the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers at New York on November 21 described the "New Deal in Action" in terms of the alleviation of human misery.

I well recall the situation, when in the summer of 1932 I motored to the Carolinas and across Tennessee, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming, and thence back to New York. In that year one passed dozens of these persons every mile of the way. Just beyond Wichita, for example, I picked up a woman and her two brothers, who had journeyed from Idaho to the Oklahoma oil regions in search of work; not finding it, they were disconsolately making their way back to their home town. In the Santa Fé station in Colorado Springs I counted over a hundred men on a passing freight train. Those people were not all bums or hoboes as they were frequently labeled. Many of them were industrial workers, artisans, laborers, who, after years of settled life, were out of work and in search of new employment. Some were young men who conscientiously felt that they could not be supported by their parents. I met dispossessed Mississippi Valley farmers with their families painfully making their way toward California in the hope of finding something to do. Local communities, already feeling the strain of relief, could do little for these transients. A bowl of soup grudgingly given, a bed on the jail floor, and a warning to get out of town the next morning were about what they could expect. Some states went so far as to exclude penniless and jobless persons from other states. Notably was this true of California. According to a census sponsored by the national committee on the care of transient and homeless, there were 1,500,000



homeless persons in the United States at the beginning of 1933.

Two years later the federal government was caring for approximately 300,000 transients. By that date, 1935, over 250 work camps for transients were in operation. For a time transients were at a disadvantage in so far as employment was concerned, for they were excluded by law from the C.W.A. and the P.W.A. programs. Not until the W.P.A. developed was it possible for transients to find employment in the regular work activities established for the unemployed. Most of the transients resented this handicap, and it was this resentment that ultimately led to abandonment of the transient camp. Incidentally it would seem that a certain portion of our population must continue to be mobile. For the time being, at least, seasonal demands of many of our industrial and agricultural activities will require the services of migratory workers. Moreover, people should not be asked to remain where they cannot find work to do. The government, both state and federal, should aid such workers in their search for employment.

THE early stages of my trip in 1936 took me first to Washington. The change in the physical appearance of the capital was great, owing to the demolition of many of the unsightly structures, which used to greet the eye as one passed down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House, and the construction of the new government buildings along Pennsylvania and Constitution avenues and other streets of the city, including a new office building for the president. There was evidence of New Deal activity in the swarms of government employees recently arrived in Washington. Discussion in the crowded hotels and other public places also attested to the new tempo on the banks of the Potomac. From Washington I went to Richmond and thence to Williamsburg. Ten days at Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, gave me opportunity to meet many

friends, who are fortunate indeed to dwell in the shadow of an old and distinguished institution of American learning. Here too I had opportunity to observe the many improvements under way on the campus. One of these, a new recreation field, was being built as a W.P.A. project.

In fact, no day passed on my way to and from the Pacific Coast that I did not see similar evidence of the New Deal in action. Newly built or repaired roads, bridges, culverts, sewerage systems, drainage and irrigation ditches, levees, pumping stations, playgrounds, school buildings, parks, swimming pools, athletic fields, paved sidewalks, reforestation projects—these are what the traveler saw. There was scarcely a town, village, or city that did not have its work project. Under the C.W.A., with individual need determined by a social worker, 40,000 schools were put in shape, university buildings and their laboratories were reconditioned, run-down public buildings were repaired and painted, and approximately 250,000 miles of roads and streets were improved or built. On the sanitary side, hundreds of thousands of acres of malarial land were ditched and drained; millions of rats were destroyed, disease-bearing ticks were eliminated, and more than 12,000,000 feet of sewer pipe laid. In Arizona C.W.A. workers built a hospital to accommodate 1,000 tubercular patients. Under the C.W.A. publicly-owned utilities also benefited. Under the W.P.A., where the social worker dropped out of the picture, and where the worker received a wage and spent it as he saw fit, the program carried on under the C.W.A. was not only continued but enlarged. Almost \$175,000,000 has been spent on farm-to-market roads. Over 8,000 communities have built or repaired their water and sewerage systems; some 6,000 have built and repaired their schools; 7,000 have built or repaired other public buildings; nearly 170 have installed or overhauled their electric utilities.

From what has been said it might be concluded that the C.W.A. and the W.P.A.

were concerned exclusively with construction projects; but such an assumption would be far from the truth. Construction projects did not provide employment for the 400,000 jobless women, breadwinners for their families. In caring for these women the New Deal wisely took into consideration their traditional skills, particularly sewing and cooking. No less than 250,000 women found employment in the thousands of sewing rooms that were opened. This work was designed primarily to give these women a wage and, secondarily, to make garments for people who would otherwise be obliged to go without them. These women have to this date made 30,000,000 garments, individual and attractive enough so that they do not stigmatize the wearer as being on relief. In one southern town of 8,000 population I saw women, who four years ago were penniless and without work and, as a consequence, dispirited, now busily engaged in one of these sewing projects. Their appearance and outlook on life had undergone a change that might almost be characterized as revolutionary. In an up-state New York town a sewing job for the mother of a family will this winter make possible food and fuel, the want of which caused suffering three or four years ago. In many of the larger communities I found women employed by W.P.A., assisting in preparation of hot school lunches. Others were engaged on federal health projects.

**T**HE New Deal has also sponsored formal education for many persons. Over 250,000 grown men and women have been taught to read and write in literacy classes in charge of teachers hired by W.P.A. The government has also made it possible for workers, many of whom had been denied the privilege of more than the most elementary schooling, to gain some acquaintance with American history. At every institution of higher learning that I visited I found the National Youth Administration functioning. This phase of the New Deal has enabled 400,000 students to continue in

high schools, colleges, or graduate schools. It has given to others, whose first necessity is a job, part-time work and part-time wages on national projects in public service, research, recreation, and community development. Indeed, under the supervision of specialists, W.P.A. workers have been able to fill gaps in our knowledge of social conditions and to do other work of a nature very useful to the student of history. One of the valuable research projects of this kind was carried on in this city under the direction of Professor Richard B. Morris of the College of the City of New York. This particular project will be described in the January issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Even before my departure from New York I had seen something of what the New Deal was doing in connection with the arts. Here writers, architects, painters, workers in the graphic arts, sculptors, musicians, actors, dramatists, composers, and producers, trained by leading men in their respective fields, were participating in a program that sought to use every relationship of the artist to his material. In range it extended from gymnasium work to chamber music, art exhibits, and murals on hospital walls. In New York alone over 1,500,000 persons heard federal programs and concerts; but this work was not confined to New York. In the not overpopulous state of Mississippi, for example, 69,000 people have attended music classes taught by more than 100 federal music teachers.

**B**EFORE leaving the Carolinas I noted the difference in spirit and attitude on the part of both the rural and small urban population as contrasted with that of 1932. Four years ago the Southern countryside was almost forbiddingly forlorn. Prices for farm products were so low that those who owned and tilled the soil were unable to make ends meet. I well remember attending a tobacco sale in a South Carolina town. Prices received did not cover the cost of production. Farmers and their families were

depressed over what was, for many of them, their sole source of income. I saw wives in tears anxiously ask their husbands what was to become of them and those dependent upon them. As both white and Negro tenant-farmers left the warehouse, where the sales were being conducted, I overheard the conversation of discouraged, dejected beings. This year of 1936 finds the psychological atmosphere very different. Through the A.A.A., the Rural Habilitation and the Rural Resettlement Administration, southern farmers, not to mention those in other sections of the country, were receiving better prices for their produce. With larger incomes they were now able to increase their purchases. Dejection and the worried look had given way to hopefulness. Merchants and professional people, especially doctors, were happier, for the farmers were now able to pay their bills, which in some cases dated back for years.

In citing this improvement I am not implying that the agrarian problems of the Carolinas or, for that matter, any part of the country, are solved. Rather the present agrarian situation has merely been ameliorated. The agricultural problem of this country, so long characterized by the misuse of land, the illogical relationship of agricultural prices to those of manufactured goods, the rise of industrialized agriculture with absentee ownership, tenant-farming, and share-cropping, the overworked farmer up to his neck in debt for land and machinery, is not likely to be solved over night. Since 1929 over a million American farm families have passed through insolvency to relief rolls. Even as late as the spring of 1935 there were 733,000 farm families on relief.

**W**HETHER we agree with the New Deal's philosophy of scarcity as applied to agriculture under the A.A.A.—and I for one do not—we must admit that it did help to increase the farmer's income. The Rural Resettlement Administration, with its emphasis on removing the farmer from

marginal and submarginal lands to lands adapted for agriculture, has in my opinion taken a step in the right direction. Eagerness for ownership and economic independence, faulty land policies, and the work of dishonest and greedy land speculators were among the primary forces responsible for the settlement of lands never intended by nature for agricultural purposes.

From the Carolinas I turned westward to what is probably the greatest of New Deal activities to date, the T.V.A. Here I saw, on a tremendous scale, developments that are changing the economy of a river basin. From Paducah to Knoxville, a distance of 648 river miles, a nine-foot channel for navigation is being created in the Tennessee River. The waters of this river and its tributaries will be controlled by a series of great dams. Seven of these have already been built or are being built, and five others have been proposed. These dams not only represent a coordinated system of flood control, but they also furnish power. A 230-mile transmission line connects Wheeler and Norris dams. Already sixteen municipalities, thirteen co-operatives and a private corporation, the Commonwealth and Southern and its subsidiaries, are being furnished with electricity. Recently, gross generation power has jumped from 44,500,000 to 112,500,000 kilowatts per month. Farmers constitute 62% of the ultimate consumers. T.V.A. is also experimenting with the manufacture of high-grade fertilizers. Aside from the marvelous engineering feats, the aspect of the T.V.A. that registered deeply on my memory was the changed appearance of this seven-state valley covering an area of 40,000 square miles. Populations have been provided, erosion gulches have been filled, and areas unfit for cultivation are being reforested by young men in C.C.C. camps from seedlings grown in three T.V.A. nurseries. I was particularly impressed by the courtesy of those in its employ and by the enthusiasm of farmers and others affected by this far-reaching development.



RETURNING to the Old South, I found in Atlanta a P.W.A. slum clearance project under way. This was one of thirteen federal housing projects that were in some state of actual progress at that time. These projects, involving a total expenditure of more than eighty million dollars, were self-liquidating. The most talked of New Deal project in Florida was the proposed ship-canal, work on which had already started. This canal, if completed, will provide a direct water route from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico across north central Florida, thus enabling shipping to avoid the much longer journey around the southernmost part of the state. Residents of northern Florida, and especially those along the route, want the canal completed at the earliest possible date, but the inhabitants of southern Florida are, with some exceptions, bitterly opposed to it. My journey through the Everglades was in many respects one of the most interesting of my entire trip. Even here I found the New Deal lending a helping hand in disciplining the waters of Lake Okechobee. Having decided to follow the Gulf Coast to New Orleans, I was amazed at the number of new bridges recently built, or that were then in process of construction. River estuaries and other coast indentations, where only a few years ago one was obliged to cross on ramshackle ferries, are now spanned by new structures of steel and concrete. The new toll bridge over the Apalachicola, built with the assistance of P.W.A. funds, is representative of this type of New Deal enterprise.

I crossed the Mississippi at Baton Rouge after a visit to what seems to me as probably the most beautiful state capitol building in America. This was designed and built under the auspices of Huey Long. On the long ride across Texas one can observe many evidences of New Deal action. They vary all the way from a tiny country school, which I saw soon after entering the state, to a sewage disposal plant in Fort Worth, and flood control on the Rio Grande just south of El Paso. To detail all that I wit-

nessed of the New Deal at work in the Southwest and the Far West would, I fear, try your patience. I shall therefore make brief mention only of what appeared to me to be the most notable projects. After leaving El Paso I followed route 89 through southern New Mexico to Douglas, Arizona, and then cut diagonally across that state through Tucson and Phoenix into California.

Everywhere in this part of the country the principal topic of conversation was Boulder Dam and the All-America Canal leading from this dam to the Imperial and Coachella valleys. Boulder Dam, one of the world's most important engineering feats, must be seen to be appreciated. This 726-foot structure, containing enough concrete to build a standard paved road from Miami to Seattle, will form a lake 115 miles long. When full it will hold enough water to flood the entire state of New York to a depth of one foot, or enough to provide every person in the United States with 80,000 gallons of water. For more than fifty miles I drove along the All-America Canal which, in addition to carrying water to the valleys of southeastern California, will supply drinking water to the cities of San Diego and Los Angeles. Irrigation water will also be supplied to 60,000 acres now under cultivation in Arizona. Water from this same source will make possible the irrigation of another million acres of land almost equally divided between Arizona and California. At the time of my visit the great generators were being installed. When in place and in continuous operation they will give Boulder a power-plant capacity of 1,835,000 horsepower. A power line now runs from Boulder Dam to Los Angeles and neighboring communities. Six miles west of the dam, high on the arid sands on the highway to Las Vegas, Nevada, stands Boulder City, a model town of Spanish architecture. Like the government-built towns in the T.V.A., Boulder City is attractive and efficiently operated under a city-manager form of government.



Late in May I visited two other projects similar to Boulder Dam. The Bonneville Dam, near completion, on the Columbia River forty miles east of Portland, will aid flood and soil erosion control, provide water for irrigation, furnish a source of cheap power, and make the Columbia River navigable to the mouth of Snake River. The second project, the Grand Coulee Dam, which is larger than either Boulder or Bonneville, is also on the Columbia River about seventy miles west of Spokane. Its reservoir will furnish water for 1,200,000 acres of surrounding desert that at present lack only water to make it a farmer's paradise.

New Deal co-operation has made possible two of central California's most important developments, one the Hetch Hetchy Reservoir located in northwestern Yosemite National Park, from which the city of San Francisco receives its excellent water supply and the other the much publicized bridges spanning San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate.

**M**Y return to the East was over a route traversed long ago by those pioneers who faced the setting sun in search of new lands and new riches. As I journeyed along I found myself comparing the America of today with the America of my grandfather's time. American civilization in his day rested for the most part upon agriculture, commerce, and handicraft. Population was relatively small and largely concentrated in the area between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. The natural resources of the country were as yet almost untapped, and, while it was possible to distinguish social-economic classes, society was still very flux. People moved easily from one class to another, there were no sharp class lines as in the Old World. The door of opportunity was open to the sons of the worker as well as to the sons of the well-born and the well-to-do. The elder Rockefeller, Leland Stanford, and Cyrus Hall McCormick, for example, were farmers' sons. And so were James B.

Duke and Philip D. Armour. At the age of fourteen Gustavus F. Swift was an apprentice in his brother's small New England butcher shop. Nelson Morris landed in America about the age of eleven, a penniless refugee. With few exceptions agriculture flourished and land values increased. Except in time of depression the person who desired work could always find it. If bold, venturesome and ambitious, the eastern farmer, mechanic, or small tradesman could seek his fortune as a land speculator, merchant, mining prospector, or railroad promoter in the vast West beyond the Mississippi.

**T**HE America of our day is a different America. Our civilization rests upon science and the machine. Our natural resources, which at the close of the American Civil War were almost intact, have been pre-empted and exploited. Our population has increased. The wealth of the country has become increasingly concentrated into the hands of a few. Small-scale industry has given way to giant combinations. Despite arguments to the contrary, the machine has increasingly displaced human hands, and the gap between capacity to produce and the ability to consume constantly widens. Classes have become more distinct, and class lines have hardened. The old opportunities that beckoned to the ambitious and the discontented are no more. Even the opportunities for capitalist enterprise are seemingly contracting. The world market for our surplus agricultural products has largely disappeared; and farm values, compared with an earlier day, have declined. Opportunities for safe investment overseas seem to be fewer. By means of high tariff walls, competing industrial nations have closed their markets to our products.

It was this fundamental change in the American scene, I told myself, that made the New Deal not only possible but imperative, if capitalism was to survive. The breakdown in 1929 merely hastened a process already under way. Years before

Roosevelt's election there was growing evidence that the American economy was not only slowing down but that the forces within it were getting out of balance. Indeed, after 1880 Socialists, Single Taxers, Populists, and other minority groups have steadfastly refused to admit that poverty was a legitimate concomitant of progress. They insisted that failure to take into account the vital relationship between ethical and humanitarian considerations, on the one hand, and economic theory and practice, on the other, constituted a menace to social stability. This, it seems to me, is exactly what Roosevelt and his advisers saw and still see. They realize that widespread unemployment, falling standards of living, concentration of wealth, unsound practices of bankers and stock brokers, labor exploitation, poverty in the midst of plenty, and the like, constitute the very stuff out of which violent revolutions are made. The New Deal is trying to avoid such revolutions by reforming our capitalistic order and, if need be, reshaping in part the American economic system.

**M**UCH of what the New Deal has attempted I have not seen. In financial outlay, the cost of carrying out its program, has been enormous; but on that point I do not intend to dwell. I cannot conclude, however, without brief allusion to one aspect of New Deal action, which I am certain has been a matter of concern even to some of Roosevelt's staunchest supporters. I refer to the fear expressed by many thinking men and women that the New Deal is undermining American character by destroying individual self-reliance and personal responsibility. In this connection I can do no better than cite certain passages from an article written by President Ernest M. Hopkins of Dartmouth College, which appeared in the October, 1936, issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*:

"Initiative, courage, hardihood, frugality, and aspiration for self-betterment are to be penalized, and the fruits of these are to be taken from those who have undergone self-sacrifice to attain them and bestowed upon those who have never developed the qualities to

possess themselves of rewards. Humanitarianism is to be reduced to the economic code of a managed society. The necessity for struggle by which men have developed strength, and the discipline of hardship, through which they have achieved greatness of mind and heart and soul, are to be replaced by a specious security. . . . I would assert that, under the New Deal, dependency is being encouraged to the point where it is rapidly and needlessly increasing, that the least desirable tendencies of a materialistic age are being accentuated rather than diminished, and that by the exclusiveness of solicitude for the incapable we are inducing a deterioration in our national character to a point little short of self-destruction. . . . Among scores of enterprises looking toward the amelioration of economic distress, little attempt has been made to develop any sense of moral obligation in the minds of recipients to build up their own moral stamina or to endure any measure of hardship as an aid to recovery for society as a whole. The dictum that all men are entitled to a more abundant life without regard to their willingness to strive for it, without the self-discipline of learning how to use it, destroys all sense of realism and works toward a disintegration of national character which rapidly is becoming tragic."

I can understand President Hopkins' point of view. No one enjoys the spectacle of human parasitism, and no one can deny that in many cases the efforts of the New Deal to ameliorate and correct conditions have been abused. Yet what would Mr. Hopkins do? Would he permit millions of honest men and women to go without work? Would he put the people whom I saw at work on government jobs, along with the other millions of unemployed whom I did not see, on a direct dole? Does he think that industry and business can absorb all able-bodied workers? I hold no brief for the New Deal in its entirety. Blunders have been made and money needlessly expended, but I am firmly convinced that a return to the heyday of *laissez faire* or to a do-nothing policy will drive millions of our people farther toward destitution and discontent, and by so doing inevitably add to the fuel out of which violent revolutions are kindled. We have to be realistic. On this the teaching of history is unmistakable. Whether we like it or not, the time has apparently come when human considerations rate first, and the serviceability of the economic system is to be estimated by the number of persons sharing its awards and the manner of their sharing.

---

# How to Study Wars

ROBERT I. ADRIANCE

---

SOME reappraisal of the purpose and method of studying the social phenomenon of war seems imperative in the light of recurrent threats and very widespread preparation for war, psychological and material. Less than a generation ago wars, with extended narrative of campaigns and battles, constituted a major portion of any history text. Little analysis was given of situations as underlying causes of conflicts. Still less was presented of what it meant to all the peoples involved, both during the hostilities and afterward. The present writer recalls a textbook in Greek history with a long chapter on the Persian invasions that was in reality a free translation of Herodotus, brilliant but futile. When the usual text in American history had completed its detailed account of the Civil War, there only remained a sort of

epilogue to summarize the administrations since that conflict. To a still earlier generation the American Revolution appeared as the significant feature of a history course, and British tyranny opposed by American freedom and valor invoked many a "patriotic" thrill.

This earlier emphasis on the Revolution has been persistent. It has become traditional to regard the Revolution as a great expression of patriotism, and, as recently as the 1920's, certain "patriotic societies," possibly under promptings of the Hearst press, made a campaign for state laws to eliminate from the schools "treason texts," that is texts which, in view of historical evidence and modern interpretations, refused to continue such a traditional account of the Revolution. It did not seem to occur to the advocates of such laws that it was absurd to make one's opinion of an event five generations ago the test of present patriotism.

Some of the emphasis on the Civil War seems to have been due to the influence, until recently, of the participants in that struggle, who constituted a large, strongly organized group of citizens. To them memories of the campaigns and battles were vivid and important as making history in the cause of "liberty" and "union." It seemed necessary to them that their children and grandchildren relive those scenes in order "to imbibe the true spirit of patriotism."

Such an aggrandizement of the World War has not been felt in the history text-

Shall we teach wars? With the world trembling in the shadow of impending conflict, the moment could hardly be more auspicious for an analysis of methods and purposes in teaching the history of wars. Out of his experience as head of the social studies department in the High School at East Orange, New Jersey, and instructor in the summer session of the University of New Hampshire, the author presents the practical aspects of teaching about war as a tragic phenomenon of society.



books of the present generation. Many influences have diminished the earlier emphasis on war and changed our attitude toward its study, the "new history," interested in widespread human activities, a newer conception of education for citizenship, a humanitarianism that deplores the human cost of war, and a preoccupation with theories and methods to prevent war.

#### CHANGING PURPOSES

**W**E have modified our attitude to war; how should we modify our teaching? We are teachers of social science. As such we are guiding young students of society in an analysis of war as a catastrophe of civilization. Why do nations resort to it? As a method of achieving results what does it mean? What are its costs to society? Is it advisable and successful above all other possible methods? From this approach, wars are tragic phenomena of society worthy of investigation. If we are successful, young citizens who are our students will not only have a more realistic understanding of the past, but also a background for analyzing future international disagreements without the emotional attitudes that breed war.

Our first objective should be an attempt to understand the reasons for resorting to force. One might think that such a terrible instrument as war would be used only when the reasons were indisputable and the aims clear. On the contrary, it is usually difficult to determine the causes of any war, for they are intricate, complex, and baffling to analyze. There is a marked discrepancy between the avowed reasons for war and some of the realities that cause war, as becomes evident some fifty years later, when important documentary evidence is available. The tragic incongruity of demanding the sacrifices of war for causes that will later be proved non-existent or distorted was dramatically presented at the Geneva Disarmament Conference by a representative of American college youth:

"It is my generation which will be called upon to surrender all we consider worthwhile in life in order to

become targets for machine-gun bullets and victims of the latest poisonous gas. It is the young men and women of my age who will be commanded to commit suicide. It is my generation which will be requested to destroy the best of human culture, perhaps civilization itself, for causes which future historians will discover to be erroneous, if not utterly stupid or actually vicious."<sup>1</sup>

Governments and people finally adopt war when misunderstandings and disputes, whether real or assumed, are fanned into a flame of bitterness and hate. When the situation enters the field of the emotions people no longer are willing to accept rational methods of solving the problem. Study of organized efforts by government and other agencies to rouse war passions in the peoples deserves serious consideration.

Discounting the absurd fatalism that deems war inevitable, and accepting the view that war was only one of various possible alternatives, the class should investigate conditions that led to the choice of war. The teacher's aim should be to have the attitude of the class that of impartial, scientific investigation, whether the war is one in which the United States was involved or not. Even in the secondary school, where the desire to simplify often leads us astray, we should attempt to live up to our ideal of being "social scientists." Discussion of war justifiability is usually fruitless, if not actually vicious. It may add interest, but it accentuates prejudice. Such discussion, too, is unrealistic and academic. It does not consider the evils, sufferings, losses, and costs, or admit the possibility of other solutions of the difficulty. Furthermore, justifiability is a matter of opinion. Carl Becker has well distinguished between the responsibility of nations entering the World War, and their justifiability, which is quite another matter.<sup>2</sup> There is merit in bringing out opposing viewpoints, which can be accomplished effectively, for instance, by describing the causes as might be reported by an

<sup>1</sup> James Frederick Green, Yale 1932, on February 2, 1932 (leaflet distributed by the National Council for the Prevention of War).

<sup>2</sup> *Modern History*. New York: Silver, Burdett, 1931, p. 675.



ardent "patriot" on each side, and also by a neutral observer.

The military aspects of the war should receive but rapid, summary attention, and only as the teacher can give a reasonable answer to the question, "Why am I teaching this?" Setting aside such reasons as traditionalism, required examinations, and "patriotic" pressure, there remains the value of knowing events that have had great effects on human affairs. Beyond serving this purpose the study of the military side of war has interest only to war experts. The primitive idea of battles as thrilling and glorious has no place today.

SINCE we are studying war as a technic used by nations or groups to gain ends or to solve problems, we ought to get a fairly complete view of what war means. Early in her recent African war, a dispatch from Rome claimed that Italy had killed or wounded 30,000 human beings in Ethiopia. Its probable exaggeration only serves to emphasize the barbarism of war. At Cold Harbor in the Civil War it is asserted that 7,000 Union soldiers were killed or wounded in twenty minutes. Such figures are read so casually that the student does not realize the hideous cost, not merely in the ending of each individual career and the consequent sorrow to a circle of family and friends, but also the loss to society of thinkers, leaders, workers. The horrors of war should not be emphasized to an unwholesome degree, but the student's understanding of what war means will be incomplete, if this aspect is not presented, and the whole war situation will be academic, unrealistic. Some attention should be given to the recruiting of soldiers, the means of selecting or forcing service, or of stimulating volunteering. How are men trained to participate in an impersonal way in the killing of fellow men? What is the soldier's life at the front? Behind the lines? What are the effects of such an experience? In a letter to *Time*, Feb. 24, 1936, a veteran writes, "No man who went to France or any other

of the battle fronts came back the same, he left some of his sanity on the battlefield."

A study must also be made of what war means in the civilian life of a nation, with realization that there is an ever-lessening distinction between civilians and combatants, as war absorbs all activities of a people, and as bombers and long-range guns carry actual destruction to areas far behind the fighting lines. How is public opinion roused to war and sustained to support war activities? War publicity and propaganda are interesting and significant as part of our study. The effects of war on the daily life of the people should be examined, the surrender of liberties cherished in peace time, the organization of the nation's business and finance to meet war needs, and all the manifold activities of government and people. In the broader study of history that includes society as a whole, these aspects of war are more important than the strictly military operations.

A CAREFUL appraisal of results might complete our study of a war. Many of these are lasting. Students should recall the avowed reasons for the war. It seems obvious that they were not attained by the vanquished. Were the victors successful in attaining their objectives? If these objectives were clear the question can be answered superficially by noting the terms of peace; but the question becomes much more complex as one studies other war purposes than those avowed and other effects than those listed in treaties. Psychological and economic effects may be difficult to analyze with any degree of certainty. For example, to what degree is the present period of discarded or rapidly changing moral standards, of disillusionment and sophistication, due to the violent alterations of moral standards in war? To what degree is the depression due to the war? Is the state of mind and of affairs that produced Mussolini and Hitler a result? Although such appraisal of effects may not have scientific accuracy, it is important that students have impres-

sions of the far-reaching consequences of war to society. Such a study of a war may well be concluded with a summary statement, now that the evidence is in, of the necessity of the war and of its desirability as a means of gaining the objectives or meeting problems.

Space limits do not permit an extended application of these ideas to a study of the several wars in American history, but some comments will be offered, particularly as to causes, in connection with our major wars. Unfortunately, it is not possible here to discuss the many Indian wars, although their real causes and conduct were almost wholly contrary to the presentation in the usual textbook or even monograph.

#### AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE American Revolution can not be simplified to a mere question of revolt from tyranny. A problem new in the world's history had appeared—the government of extensive colonies remote from the homeland—and the solution was yet to be found. In the case of the British colonies the difficulties of this problem were greatly increased by permitting a large measure of self-government. When efforts were made to withdraw some degree of autonomy and to establish, belatedly, a well-organized colonial system, this restraint seemed tyranny by contrast. When the elderly Captain Preston was asked why the American colonists fought, he said, "We always had governed ourselves and we always meant to." Claude H. Van Tyne, in his *Causes of the War of Independence*<sup>3</sup> indicated his view of this situation in a chapter headed, "The Freest of Peoples Were the First to Rebel."

This spirit of independence was due to many factors. There were the individuals and groups that left England in a spirit of protest. Many held views that congregations or assemblies should have a voice in affairs, religious or political. The freedom of a frontier society three thousand miles from the source of authority was good soil for the

growth of the spirit of freedom. England's absorption during the seventeenth century with domestic struggles and in the eighteenth with foreign wars left the colonies much to themselves; and in the latter century appeared the new theories of "natural and inalienable rights of man," which colonial political philosophers were quick to adopt.

To the spirit of independence and the reality of self-government were added the increasing difference in viewpoints and resulting misunderstanding between the older, conservative, traditional society of the homeland and the freer, simpler society of pioneers. Mercantilism, "immemorial rights of Englishmen," authority of Parliament, rights of assemblies, power of taxation, imperial interests, all looked very different when viewed from London and from Boston. When, some years ago, citizens of an Alaskan port shoveled a cargo of coal into the harbor in a spirit of protest, it did not appear to the people of the United States to be the same noble expression of patriotism that we have considered the Boston Tea Party. Another illustration of such differences in views is our lack of appreciation of the similarities that bright young Filipino students were accustomed to point out between their position and that of the American colonists. Such considerations may help the student to a better understanding of the basis for the American Revolution.

In the dozen years following the adoption of the new policy of colonial control in 1763, arbitrary action, stupidity, lack of understanding of colonial ways, needs, and attitudes, by George III and his Tory ministers on the one side; burning words of such leaders as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry and violent deeds of their followers, on this side of the Atlantic, created an emotional atmosphere that led to war. A peaceful solution of the difficult problems might have been found in flexible relationship between the thirteen colonies and England, but once emotions became

<sup>3</sup> Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1922.

aroused and the element of goodwill disappeared, any peaceable solution was impossible.

#### THE WAR OF 1812

THE traditional view of the War of 1812 is that once more we rose up in righteous anger to defend our rights against British injustice. Yet the parts of the nation, notably New England, which suffered from these indignities vigorously opposed the war; and an analysis of the war vote of Congress proves that the determining votes were cast by the "westerners" led by the "War Hawks," whose motive seems to have been chiefly the conquest of Canada. It is probably still true that the attitudes engendered by British Orders in Council and impressment ought to be considered major causes, since we must recognize that all situations causing misunderstanding and hatred lead to war; but the traditional view of righteous defense against injustice must certainly be modified. The stories of England inciting the Indians are typical of the kind of propaganda that stirs emotional rage preceding every war. The maritime situation is very appropriate for study today, when new neutrality policies are being considered. Our insistence on "freedom of the seas" was a part of the complex that involved us in war, as it was to do again, with strange similarities and strange differences, a century later.

Whether the War of 1812 was justifiable or not may be a matter of opinion. In any case it was one of the most unfortunate and fruitless of our wars; unfortunate because a further delay of two weeks—we had already managed to hold off five years since the "Chesapeake and Leopard" affair—would have informed us of the repeal of the Orders in Council, and unfortunate because we were fighting Great Britain when she was engaged in Europe's struggle against the military dictator Napoleon. Certainly it was unsatisfactory both in its military and naval aspects, although some brilliant naval engagements and the ex-

ploits of privateers have caused us to minimize the fact that our tiny navy had no chance against the huge British navy and was swept from the seas. The war was a draw, and the Treaty of Ghent did not mention the avowed issues for which we fought.

Nevertheless the psychological effects were similar to those of victorious war; a period of nationalism followed, and the popular impression was that we actually had won. Several factors are responsible. Every nation magnifies victories and minimizes defeats, self-assured that it has "won the respect and admiration of the world." A small nation that makes a strong stand against a larger one and avoids obvious defeat has a sense of great achievement. The final victory at New Orleans, although it occurred after peace had been signed and was therefore a needless waste of life, was a brilliant victory and left the final impression of the war.

#### MEXICAN WAR

IN 1846 American citizens were again called to fight a war, and the causes are in dispute ninety years later. What were they fighting for? Was it to seize a third of Mexico, as Japan has seized parts of China, and Italy has annexed Ethiopia? Was it to add slave territory as Northern Abolitionists believed? Or was it, as Justin H. Smith and his followers claim, thoroughly justified by Mexican "outrages," "insults," "insolence," and "bad faith"?

The story of Americans in Texas seems to follow the usual formula of imperialism. Representatives of an aggressive race entered a backward region. Friction followed, leading to ultimate absorption by the dominant country. Our annexation of Hawaii parallels that of Texas throughout, except that it was happily without bloodshed. War was precipitated after an election that proved the imperialistic sentiment of the nation. "Manifest Destiny" was the noble phrase for this sentiment. Our troops occupied a disputed area after efforts at nego-



tiation with the unstable Mexican Republic had failed. When a clash occurred between American and Mexican troops in this disputed region, President Polk sent a war message to Congress in which he had the audacity (or mendacity) to exclaim, "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States . . . and shed American blood upon the American soil."

A good method for a high school class is an impartial investigation of the events that ultimately led to war, the issues involved, and then a discussion of the causes as they might appear to an ardent Mexican patriot, an ardent American, and a neutral European observer. Admitting that it is always difficult for a powerful, advanced nation to settle disputes patiently and justly with a smaller, backward, unstable, and unreasonable country, nevertheless, it is well to have a class see that, had we desired to avoid a war with Mexico in 1846, it would not have been difficult to do so.

#### CIVIL WAR

THE emotional misunderstandings and bitterness that led to war as a solution of the issues between North and South were supplied by Abolitionists and by such Southern "fire-eaters" as William L. Yancey. Each party painted the other in villainous terms and glorified its own section. Benjamin Palmer, a clergyman of New Orleans,<sup>4</sup> stated that "the position of the South is at this moment sublime. If she has grace given her to know her hour, she will save herself, the country and the world." To such men all Northerners were Abolitionists, intent on the destruction of the South's idealized civilization. Similarly Henry Ward Beecher rhapsodized on the contributions of the North to civilization, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* stirred tremendous emotions as multitudes of readers believed its horrors to be typical of slavery. John Brown's raid seemed to confirm Southern beliefs. The "fire-eaters"

asserted there would be no war and that the South would be allowed to withdraw in peace, but when the issue was joined, both sides, as usual, accepted war with enthusiasm and confidence in a speedy and easy victory.

Seward referred to the "irrepressible conflict," but in reality war became inevitable only when emotions were kindled to such heat that reason, calm effort to meet great problems, Christian ideals, and goodwill ceased to operate. Could leaders, North and South, have foreseen the horrors of the struggle and its terrible after-effects, it seems probable that ways would have been found to convert slave labor to free, to solve or compromise the problem of the rising Northern industrialism, and to meet the other issues of conflict without slaughtering some seven hundred thousand fellow citizens, maiming thousands more, wasting three billion dollars from the federal treasury alone, devastating the South, and permitting political, social, and economic disruption beyond calculation.

#### SPANISH WAR

THE Spanish War was for the United States, as a whole, a short and rather thrilling adventure. To Spain it was the tragedy of dying empire and hopeless struggle against a foe of overwhelming strength. This encounter with Spain offers a good "case study" of war, for it can be studied and discussed without much fear of arousing emotion among the students or their parents. Why were men asked to fight this time? To offer "patriotic" sacrifice even of life itself? Was it because Spain blew up the Maine? "Remember the Maine" was the slogan that did more than anything else to arouse public emotions, but the assumption that Spain did this seems the more absurd the farther we get from those days. Or was it to protect American sugar investments? Such economic causes are potent, but men are not openly asked to die to save American corporations and their investors. Or had the germ of imperial ambition, so vigorous in that period, infected us? Or were we

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in H. H. Swift, *The Railroad to Freedom*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932, p. xvii.



killing Spaniards, and some Americans, in a humanitarian enterprise to free Cubans? At any rate it was the last that was emphasized, for war must be idealized, and once more we could claim that we were fighting for "justice and liberty," terms sufficiently flexible to be applied—or misapplied—to every war we have fought. Modern newspaper propaganda did its share, thanks to the competition of Hearst and Pulitzer to build circulation. When McKinley hesitated to plunge the country into war, Theodore Roosevelt declared that the President had "the backbone of a chocolate eclair"; but modern research has led us to believe that the lack of backbone was in yielding to public clamor and sending a war message to Congress, in spite of the fact that he had information that Spain was yielding to our demands respecting Cuba. In this case, as in 1812 and in our dispute with Mexico, classroom teaching ought to point out that war, as a means of meeting problems, could have been avoided had there been strong public opinion opposed to the choice of this method of meeting issues.

#### WORLD WAR

**M**ANY of us recall vividly our entrance into the World War. How simple and justifiable the causes seemed in 1917! There were Germany's diabolical plot to dominate Europe, her violation of treaties, German spies trying to prevent American factories from carrying on honest and profitable business in manufacturing munitions, violations of America's cherished principle of "freedom of the seas" by outrageous use of submarines, autocracy fighting democracy, and finally German defiance of the

Sussex pledge by declaration of submarine warfare in widespread waters surrounding her enemies. So we went to war in a "Great Crusade," to save national honor, "make the world safe for democracy" in a "war to end war."

Are those the things we fought for? Did we by our joint victory with the Allied Powers achieve the results we said we were fighting for? A disillusioned world says "No," and energetically prepares for the next war whose ideals are yet to be formulated. No longer do historians accept the unilateral responsibility of Germany. In America we know that the only wide-open channels of propaganda were pro-Ally, that the American ambassador to England was intensely pro-British and the American ambassador to Berlin bitterly anti-German, that the American business was making enormous profits in business with the Allies and that American investors had increasing stakes in Allied victory that by the beginning of 1917 was in serious jeopardy. The roots of this war are unbelievably complicated and the reasons assigned for our entrance conflicting. Yet we read the inscription beneath the hovering angel of a war memorial that the supreme sacrifice was made for "justice and liberty"! In the approach that we have presented, wars are studied as tragic phenomena of society distinctly worthy of investigation. Young citizens who are our students will not only have a more realistic understanding of the past, but also a general background for analyzing future international disagreements with the kind of emotional control and objectivity that will lessen the danger of war.

---

# A Social-Science Laboratory

ALICE N. GIBBONS

---

**L**IKE all institutions that have continued through any length of time the social-science laboratory at East High School in Rochester, New York, illustrates the law of ceaseless change. It was established about fifteen years ago as an experiment to solve temporarily the problem of an over-crowded general school library. That it not only has been allowed to continue, but has been copied for two of the new high schools of the city, is one proof of its success.

Originally an empty study hall was allotted as a place to which social-science pupils could go for their library study. The individual study seats were retained, as was the teacher's desk at the front of the long room. Bookcases were built to line all four sides, and about two thousand books dealing with the social studies were moved there from the main library. Not all the books dealing with the social sciences were brought, for it was recognized that histor-

ical, sociological, and civic reference books will always be needed in the general library of the school, even though a separate collection might be established for the special use of the social-science department. In the years since the creation of the laboratory, the older reference books have been steadily weeded out, and newer, more complete authorities added for the various social sciences. The Rochester board of education has always been generous in its allotment of money to buy new books so that, even in the depression years, we have had about one hundred and fifty dollars to spend annually for the laboratory. At the present time the collection numbers over four thousand volumes, with only a few editions more than ten years old.

The term "laboratory" was chosen to designate the room in the hope that the name would help to remind both teachers and pupils that it should be a laboratory in the real meaning of the term, rather than merely a place for pupils to grind out enough supplementary reading to meet Regents requirements for each course. The founders of the laboratory hoped that students and teachers using the room would bring to it a real enthusiasm for research in many of the human problems disturbing the world. It seems fair to say that perhaps seven pupils out of ten seem to use the room in that spirit and find values there that are not in the ordinary reading library. At the time this one room was set aside, it was hoped that, as the "laboratory" idea grew, other rooms could be added for dif-

For some years the author of this useful description of one school's efforts to stimulate the use of books and materials of social content has been head of the department of social sciences in the East High School of Rochester, New York. It is a pleasure to announce that in forthcoming issues we expect to publish articles on the two other activities she mentions here, an international-relations club and a modern-problems class.

ferent types of research or creative work, but that hope has been only partially fulfilled. It is probably true that a social-science laboratory, when complete, should have rooms for drafting, clay-modeling, type-writing, exhibits, and committee work. In other words, besides the large room for work in books, in any large high school there should be at least three small rooms for these other important purposes.

**S**INCE the room has a seating capacity of seventy and is usually rather well filled, the teacher in charge is kept busy the first part of the hour seeing that each student finds promptly whatever reference books he wants for the hour's work. An observer coming into the room during the first few minutes will frequently see pupils consulting each other or one student helping another find the right books. This spirit of helpfulness is, we feel, one of the values of the laboratory. There are open shelves, and pupils are allowed during the study hour to go back and forth between their seats and the shelves searching for what they want, as they want it.

At each hour of the day the room is in charge of a social-science teacher who is supposed to have a fairly expert knowledge of all the books, and of the various social sciences. Pupils feel free to ask the teacher in charge to help them in their research work, or discuss the problems with them, even though those particular pupils do not come from the teacher's own classes. The teachers enjoy the hour of their laboratory assignment for several reasons. The work has not the monotony of ordinary study-hall service, they find it instructive to know what assignments other teachers are making, and the hour gives them the opportunity to make friends with many interesting pupils not in their own classes.

Pupils are not given daily assignments to the laboratory. It is the policy of the department teachers to avoid, whenever possible, making "blanket" assignments to laboratory work—that is, assigning an entire

class to a single project. Therefore students in the laboratory are usually working upon individual or committee projects. They come individually at whatever time of day they may have a vacant hour, and the population of the laboratory varies from day to day, and hour to hour. Some pupils find the study atmosphere of the room so agreeable that they try to come every day, doing other work there, when they have no social-science assignment.

As long as there are vacant seats, no studious person is turned away. When occasionally a pupil abuses the laboratory privilege by whispering, or wasting study time, then the privilege is taken away. This happens rarely, and such a dismissed pupil usually comes, within the week, with the request for reinstatement and a promise of future good behavior. It is our policy always to give a second trial, and we rarely have further trouble. Gradually we have developed, as a school tradition, pride in the good order and privileges of the laboratory, so that teachers in charge find that they can leave the room on an errand without putting a substitute in charge, being fairly confident that when they return they will find the pupils still quietly studying. Of course it is easier to approach such an ideal in the earlier hours of the day. The hours before lunch and before school closing need more careful supervision to maintain the quiet atmosphere.

**A**T the end of school there is a busy ten minutes, while pupils are drawing out overnight books. On an average about eighty books, pamphlets, or magazines are withdrawn. These must be returned before the opening of school the next day, if the material is something in general demand. Fiction, biography, and books of travel may be kept out for two weeks. It is a matter of some pride to us that few books are lost in the course of the year, even though we maintain the open-shelf system and have no professional librarian in charge.



The laboratory is open after school until five o'clock. This is the time when many committees meet to work together on their projects. Discussion groups gather in different parts of the room, and it is the teacher's task not to maintain absolute study quiet but simply to try to keep subdued the over-enthusiastic voices debating the problems of the universe.

During the first week of a new term each teacher explains to his classes the working of the laboratory and the proper use of its books. Also, during the first month, some check-up is made in each class to see that all pupils know where to find and how to use such tools as the encyclopaedias and magazine guides. Helped in this way, it does not take new pupils very long to become accustomed to independent use of the books of the laboratory.

THE laboratory owns a few sets of books to be drawn out at times for class-room use, but in general it has been the policy not to have more than a dozen books in duplicate. When books are drawn from the laboratory for classroom study on some subject, they are usually books by a number of different authors, rather than a single set of duplicates.

We have had only a very small amount of money for magazines, but we have managed to keep supplied with those necessary to follow both the liberal and conservative points of view on public questions. Perhaps *Time* is the magazine most in demand, but the *Reader's Digest* is a close second. The *Nation* seems to have only a limited number of readers, but the *Survey Graphic* is in fairly steady use. Subscribing to a daily newspaper has proved rather discouraging, for we find the "Sports" pages are more in demand than the telegraphic news!

Our pamphlet table has proved a notable success. Here we try to keep as many up-to-date pamphlets as possible, and there is nearly always some student looking it over. Such booklets as the reports of the Brookings Institution, Wallace's *America Must*

*Choose*, and the Headline Book *Made in the U. S. A.* are in steady demand. So many fine booklets are being issued now to popularize public problems that a week seldom goes by without new additions to the collection. Of course, much of this material may have been originally printed as propaganda, but, if social-science students are properly trained in the classroom, they will be on guard in reading it. So fortified, propaganda should be made part of their reading. Care should be taken that the pamphlet table contains both liberal and conservative writings.

BOTH pupils and teachers are constantly crying out for more room, but, since we have an old, crowded, unadaptable building, the need has to remain unfulfilled. A few years after the establishment of the book laboratory, a small adjoining room, in which individual projects of both pupils and teachers could be carried on apart from the study in the original room, was assigned us. The use of this second room has grown so rapidly that now, for efficient work, we need one or two more rooms. The chief need at present, which we have hopes may be supplied this coming term, is a third small room in which there can be two or three typewriters, and several small tables for committee meetings. Only by such a solution can the necessary quiet be restored to our second laboratory room.

The primary purpose of our second room was to give space to the teachers for study desks and filing space. In this room are nine desks and a typewriter, and, since there are twelve teachers in the department, some desks have to be shared. All available space along the walls is lined with cupboards and filing cases. One file is for news clippings, another for mounted pictures, a third for sample tests, and so on. In one case we have begun an historical collection of museum articles. Unfortunately, our restricted space prevents us from mounting them properly. Some day we hope for a room in which we may have exhibit cases lining the walls, with



the rest of the room containing drafting boards, typewriters, and a desk, where clipping, sorting, pasting, and mounting may be done comfortably with enough "elbow room" to give the work dignity. Properly recognized and guided such work has great educational value for some pupils.

For a number of years the teachers of the department did enthusiastic, co-operative work in making a permanent collection of mimeographed new type tests in all subjects of the department. Our shelves always contained plenty of such material for any teacher to use at any time. The tests were modified and changed from year to year, and for some of the better tests we tried to keep comparative statistics of examination results. In addition we were developing a variety of units with accompanying tests. The use of this material was wholly voluntary with the teachers, and, if any teacher felt dissatisfied with the material offered, he was welcome to experiment with new units or tests of his own, provided he contributed samples of his creative work for use by the other department teachers. Two files were started, one containing the monthly records and examination standings of all department pupils, and the other devoted to case records of particular pupils, who for some reasons stood out from their fellows as particularly good or particularly trying. At that time our school was organized into a seven-hour day with each teacher having two vacant periods, and we had a department typist and secretary to do mimeographing and to keep many of the records. Also the standard size of classes was thirty pupils.

Then the depression came. To economize, the school was reorganized on a six-hour basis with each teacher having only one vacant period. A department secretary was withdrawn, and the size of classes enlarged. At present the teachers do not have time for that creative work or even time to run off supplies of tests already developed. Our shelves are practically empty of such material, and the space has been put to a

new use—that of holding supplies of rental books. The rental system was adopted recently as an economy measure and so has added one more purely mechanical task to the teacher's routine.

**W**ITHIN the past two years two new projects have been undertaken by our social-science department. These have greatly increased the demands made upon the smaller room of our laboratory and have been gradually making the need imperative to gain a third room for our work, if we are going to continue to progress. One project is the establishment of a Modern-Problems Class for seniors, conducted so that the pupils themselves, through a series of committees, do all the work of organizing, planning, and keeping the daily work of the class up to the standard of efficiency. The second project is the development of an extracurricular activity, an International-Relations Club that has proved so active in its work of many committees that it almost needs a room to itself. There has been no place for the various committees of these two vigorous activities to meet and work together except in the smaller room of our laboratory. Yet, since this smaller room is supposed to be primarily a teachers' study and workroom, the necessity of allowing the buzz of conversation for these student activities and the equally urgent need for keeping the room quiet for teachers has brought an insoluble problem to the department head.

Nevertheless in spite of the many deficiencies and frustrated hopes that are told in this account of the laboratory, still the fine points of the institution are so many that we are proud and happy to possess it. The rooms are gay in colorful decoration, and they are unusually light with many windows and the newer method of electric lighting. Happy friendships grow strong there both among teachers and pupils, and former pupils are constantly coming back to greet us and speak gratefully of the experience they gained in their laboratory work there.

---

# Books and Ideas in Economics 1934 and 1935

ROBERT L. CAREY

---

IT is a commonly accepted doctrine of orthodox economics that depressions, by the elimination of incompetent workers and producers, restore production to more efficient and profitable levels. This principle, governing certain events in the material world, has been equally operative in the realm of economic literature. The crises of 1929 and 1933, the prolonged depression, and the breakdown of general economic security not only have swept aside many outmoded ideas but also have given new directions to some currents of thought and restored vitality to others.

Losing touch with the swift run of facts and building upon questionable preconceptions explain the weakened fibre of much of our economic thinking and its collapse with the rude shocks of crisis. The synthesis of competitive "equilibrium economics" wrought by the genius of Marshall was one of the crowning intellectual achievements of the nineteenth century. Its interpretation of the economic system as a self-balancing mechanism in which all variables are brought into smooth articulation by

automatic processes has been supported by the postulates of economic liberalism—"perfect" competition, freedom of choice made by rational individuals, flexibility of prices and others.

BECAUSE matter-of-fact developments have overthrown these postulates, this system of analysis has become anachronistic. As early as the third quarter of the nineteenth century business enterprise had outgrown the simple unicellular existence in terms of which neo-classical economists saw it. The era of small-scale enterprises competing on terms of equality in the world's markets had given way to the beginning of a period in which enterprises strove ceaselessly to conquer and govern others as well as to govern their workers and consumers. As investments expanded and great businesses grew, they dropped their character of competition, except in legal and economic fiction, and became economic states, determining wages, prices, and qualities and influencing policies of government. These developments have caused the breakdown of competitive equilibrium as a reliable mechanism for holding the economic order in balance. Also the high degree of industrial consolidation and a few tentative steps toward interindustrial co-ordination have not succeeded in providing such a reliable mechanism for balance. The economic order appears to be dependent more upon chance than upon reason or "unseen hands" for whatever orderliness it may have. Moreover, government has ceased to

In this article Robert L. Carey, of the department of economics of Columbia University, offers an analysis and summary of some recent shifts in economic opinion as illustrated in the specialized literature of 1934 and 1935. The second half will appear next month.

function merely as a passive agency. At each periodic collapse of a system supposedly coordinated by "natural forces" distressed business men begged for government assistance, the speedy withdrawal of which was insistently demanded by these same men as soon as recovery returned. Faith in the old ideas was temporarily suspended but never relinquished.

ACCORDING to the American "new economics" of the 1920's, economic harmonies were to be everlasting in a rejuvenated capitalism, stabilized on a new plateau of prices and moving swiftly toward the end of depression and poverty. The reign of "rugged individualism" was to insure automatic balance and coordination. Beneath the surface of prosperity, however, powerful forces were gathering strength: the technological revolution, accumulation of huge gold reserves, abuse of our position as international creditor, new investing and consuming habits of the people, increasing concentration of income, the piling up of enormous corporate surpluses, and finally the stock market inflation. The American people, fed on the complacent doctrines of the "new era," became overconfident and ignored the cumulative effects of these forces. Following the collapse of the "new era" economics in the great depression, the vested interests, as usual, rushed to Washington. Frantic efforts to sustain the tottering capital structure with government aid were followed by the profuse multiplication of public agencies under the New Deal, the purpose of which was professed to be the restoration of the entire economic order rather than one favored segment of it. In such a world of confusion and rapid change, the American people turned to the economist for enlightenment and programs of action. The economist, in his attempts to meet these demands, found himself inadequately equipped with facts and with some techniques of analysis sadly in need of revision.

Against such a background the work of reconstructing and reinterpreting economic science was undertaken. From the flood of literature since the crisis of 1933, the development of four general approaches to economic problems, and several others of less or of particularist importance which cannot be considered here, are discernible. Briefly they are: first, "descriptive economics"—to use Lionel Robbin's term—the principal emphasis of which is fact gathering and the description of current or historical processes; second, a re-adapted systematic equilibrium analysis, some students of which have deduced economic reforms from their own analyses; third, a re-interpretation of Marxist economics; fourth, institutional economics and the programs for social reform that have sprung from it.

#### DESCRIPTIVE ECONOMICS

Informed interpretation of economic life and sound policies of controlling economic forces depend upon a large and well organized body of facts. The general use of statistical methods has contributed abundantly to our factual knowledge of output, distribution, prices, and other variables. Yet much work remains undone.

INDUSTRY. Surprisingly little of distinction has been written in 1934 and 1935 on manufacturing enterprises. With few exceptions, the studies of particular industries made in this period were either too deeply tinged with romance or were too narrow in scope to be of much value. An ideal descriptive literature of industry would contain broad scientific approaches to each important enterprise with its technology and resources, its relationships with other industries and with workers, consumers, and government. Steel has often been described with due regard for the crushing weight of that great industry upon its labor force. However, chemicals, aircraft, farm machinery, oil, textiles, food, and construction—all great industries—remain undescribed except in piecemeal treat-



ments. The magazine, *Fortune*, published from February to November 1935 an excellent series of articles covering somewhat impressionistically the tobacco, locomotive, cement, leather, auto, machine tools, and other industries. By and large, though, there have been only sweeping generalizations about our greater businesses, interpreted less as self-seeking entities than as a vague, loosely organized unit, "big business." Typical of this mode of approach are the well known books of Berle and Means<sup>1</sup> and of Laidler.<sup>2</sup> These revelations, published before 1934, of the high concentration of control over wealth and of the bafflingly intricate financial super-structure that sits athwart our system of production, ought to be brought down to date.

What the economists have far from fully described thrust itself dramatically into view with the passage of the Recovery Act. From that experience, short lived though it was, came many interesting observations about the behavior of industries. The price controls under NRA, by which "big business" further entrenched itself, have been discussed by Terborgh.<sup>3</sup> After the Schechter decision in 1935 the remnant of NRA was assigned the task of consolidating the vast quantity of code-hearing materials, admirable sources from which a comprehensive study of American industry may soon emerge. One more important fact must not be overlooked. The NRA and AAA programs by their restrictive devices sponsored an economy of scarcity. To combat the scarcity concept, a number of investigations have been focused upon the opposing concept, an economy of abundance. Among these, the searching analysis of the Brookings Institution into the relationships be-

tween income and economic progress<sup>4</sup> differs in many respects—as will be seen later—from the books of Stuart Chase<sup>5</sup> and the monumental undertaking of Harold Loeb.<sup>6</sup> However, all of them have uncovered many useful facts concerning enterprise, resources, and productive processes.

**AGRICULTURE.** Change quickly outruns authors. Within a few years American agriculture has shifted from dependence upon an internal and a foreign market, which was by supposition automatically responsive to supply and demand, to dependence upon federal controls of production. Under the guidance of AAA the farmers producing each crop became an organized business enterprise. Early in 1936 the farmers saw their production-control mechanism ruled unconstitutional by a court that permits industrialists to exploit the people by seemingly analogous control devices. The fall of AAA left behind a will to recover possession of the improved bargaining position once enjoyed. Aided by government, American farmers doubtless will continue to seek methods of strengthening their position, relative to other economic groups, over the shares each will enjoy in the national income. Agriculture's transition into its latest form of organized effort, with all its causes and implications, is yet to be fully described.

The best descriptive material, though usually incidental to the main purpose, exists in books about policy. A comprehensive descriptive treatment of American agriculture synthesized from the multitude of special studies in 1934 and 1935 would fill an urgent need. The question of control, with special reference to short run aspects, appears to have been the main theme of recent writers, none of whom denies the necessity of a controlled agriculture under

<sup>1</sup> A. A. Berle and G. C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*. New York: Commerce Clearing House, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Laidler, *Concentration of Control in American Industry*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1931.

<sup>3</sup> G. W. Terborgh, *Price Control Devices in NRA Codes*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1934.

<sup>4</sup> Four volumes discussed later.

<sup>5</sup> S. Chase, *Economy of Abundance*. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

<sup>6</sup> H. Loeb and associates, *National Survey of Potential Productive Capacity*. New York: New York Housing City Authority, 1935.

government sanction as a means of balancing the economic and political advantages of industry. However, there is far from unanimous agreement as to the kind of arrangement that ought to be set up. Some like Bean<sup>7</sup> and Secretary Wallace<sup>8</sup> argue for planned restriction; others, like Willcox<sup>9</sup> for planned abundance. Very likely, the former type is the only one consistent with capitalist institutions. Experience under the new regime has been recorded in a favorable light by government documents, notably the AAA annual report. The critical side is ably advanced by such writers as Stolberg and Vinton<sup>10</sup> and Hacker.<sup>11</sup> A study of the tolerable economic and legal limits of control would be very helpful.

The exigencies of the crisis have by no means caused the long range point of view to be forgotten. Many of the "long-run" writers look upon the future prospects of American agriculture with optimism. Willcox<sup>12</sup> for instance, represents the opinion of those who visualize a tenfold increase in output if farmers apply the latest discoveries of agrobiolgy. Such an increase, these agricultural "technocrats" realize, would precipitate some serious social maladjustment which, they say, could be solved by strong centralized control and a policy of unmitigated nationalism. It sounds a bit fanciful but, unlike their technocratic kin, they have held their discussion to a strictly scientific level. Another phase of the long-run analysis has been the increasing emphasis upon land utilization and land planning studies appearing usually under government auspices. Since the New Deal, con-

siderable attention has fallen upon the question of co-ordinating flood control, reforestation and soil conservation. Among state reports that of Minnesota deserves special honors for its general excellence.<sup>13</sup>

**LABOR.** One might expect from all that has happened in the labor world to find an abundance of good descriptive works in labor economics. Yet, surprisingly few recent publications are of more than transitory value. While economic security is a problem from which almost no one escapes, it has special bearing upon the worker and his family. The entire question has been thoroughly and thrillingly discussed by Rubinow, one of the acknowledged masters of the field.<sup>14</sup> Among other subjects which have captured the attention of labor economists recently are the changes that have been taking effect in the American Labor Movement, especially during the last six critical years. The use of the "new" or industrial unionism to supersede the simple craft type as the more effective structural type, some measure of adjustment in the Federation's social philosophy to the technics and economics of an age of power, a growing realization of the approaching end of "free" unionism, weakening of the traditional hands-off policy towards a labor party, and many other developments have been ably, though often uncritically, recounted by Miss Flexner and Mr Lorwin.<sup>15</sup> Wider still in scope are Volumes III and IV of the monumental *History of Labor* of John R. Commons and associates.<sup>16</sup> All the very many problems affecting organized and unorganized labor are considered in their complicated historical settings down to the inauguration of the New Deal.

<sup>7</sup> L. H. Bean, "Agriculture and the World Crisis," *United States Department of Agriculture Year Book*; Washington, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Wallace, *America Must Choose*. Boston: Foreign Policy Association, 1934; *New Frontiers*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934.

<sup>9</sup> O. W. Willcox, *Reshaping Agriculture*. New York: Norton, 1934.

<sup>10</sup> B. Stolberg and W. J. Vinton, *Economic Consequences of the New Deal*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1935.

<sup>11</sup> L. M. Hacker, *Short History of the New Deal*. New York: Crofts, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Land Utilization in Minnesota*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

<sup>14</sup> I. M. Rubinow, *The Quest for Security*. New York: Henry Holt, 1934.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Flexner and L. L. Lorwin, *American Federation of Labor*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1933.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. III by D. D. Leach and E. Brandeis. Vol. IV by S. Perlman and P. Taft. New York: Macmillan, 1935.

Everyone recalls the dramatic suddenness with which the NIRA placed unions on a quasi-public basis and the subsequent attempts of the government to advance the cause of collective bargaining. Critics expected little else from the national and special labor boards created by this law beyond the performance of advisory functions. Although Section 7 (a) failed to develop a really vigorous unionism, the achievements of the boards in other directions were by no means negligible. Their clarification of the principles underlying collective bargaining and their explicit definition of the rights of labor, so often sacrificed to property rights, constitute the initial step toward the formation of a kind of labor law code. Another important factor associated with their experience is the basis it provides for further administrative settlement of industrial disputes. Thus the scope of administrative law, already an important part of the American system, promises to be greatly extended. The Brookings Institution has published an excellent critical account of the history of labor boards under the New Deal.<sup>17</sup>

One of the great questions in the current labor world involves the extent and character of labor's participation in politics. Germany and Italy supply one answer. Many democratic writers and labor leaders in America fasten their hopes upon a future labor party the object of which is to capture and control the state for its own ends. To other writers revolution, peaceful or violent, is neither the only nor the most expedient course to adopt. The philosophies of revolution—anarchism, syndicalism, socialism, communism—imply open conflict with the state, and all of them, except syndicalism, depend upon the rationalist dogma of a unitary state. The urge to avoid conflict and revolution has prompted the pluralists at this point to advance their proposals. Pluralism has been well represented in recent literature by the

scholarly work of Milne-Bailey.<sup>18</sup> Essentially, his position assumes that economic growth and functional decentralization have outmoded the unitary state. In a pluralist system, labor as an important functional group would be elevated to a position of high responsibility. Conflict with the state then would cease to exist. The usual response to this thread of argument is that a pluralist society cannot secure co-ordination without a central authority, which is the state. The pluralists' answer is to point to the many evidences of co-ordination, such as voluntary arbitral boards in labor troubles, which are not direct consequences of the exercise of the state's power. Co-ordination is not exclusively a function of the state. All this, of course, is not new. Although Milne-Bailey's successful retouching of pluralist doctrine is made to fit the current British situation particularly, it is applicable to any capitalist country.

**CONSUMPTION.** A few rays of light have been thrown on that great unknown in economics, consumption. Factual information has been notably increased by the writings of the "age of plenty" economists, though their work is only a good beginning. Some useful but hastily written books have tried to help the consumer discover ways of protecting himself against his own ignorance and the predatory tactics of sellers.<sup>19</sup> Most writers on consumption see little hope for the consumer except through greatly expanded publicity regarding qualities of goods and, especially, through strong organizational measures. That the government constitutionally can do more than it has done is, of course, beyond dispute.

**PRIVATE and Public Finance; Foreign Trade.** In the field of private finance as in others, there has been a disposition to

<sup>18</sup> W. Milne-Bailey, *Trade Unions and the State*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1934.

<sup>19</sup> C. Foreman and M. Ross, *The Consumer Seeks a Way*. New York: Norton, 1935; R. Brindze, *How to Spend Money*. New York: Vanguard, 1935.

<sup>17</sup> L. L. Lorwin and A. Wubnig, *Labor Relations Boards*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1935.



base sweeping generalization and prediction upon too few facts. The bank crisis and the years that followed have failed to add as much as they should to this relatively limited knowledge. The great credit-creating agencies of the depression years and, of the New Deal have remained undescribed in anything more popular or unified than annual reports and scattered articles. But the field of money and banking has been by no means neglected. G. D. H. Cole's excellent book<sup>20</sup> mixes propaganda for socialization of banks with description. The process of capital formation in the United States is well discussed in a Brookings publication.<sup>21</sup> Fiscal policies of government in its war on depression have enlisted wide popular interest in public finance. The general reader wants to get the facts about systems and theories of taxation with a minimum of propaganda. A good book to supply this information is now available.<sup>22</sup> In foreign trade a reaction has begun to set in against nationalist policies. A typical description of and argument for this trend is found in Simpson's book.<sup>23</sup>

#### EQUILIBRIUM ECONOMICS

THE systematic theory of competitive equilibrium with its elaborate set of concepts—the economists' "tools of analysis"—and its rigid logic has lost much of its analytical value. As has been stated, its preconceptions are no longer true. The present is an era of controlled, not of flexible, prices: factors of production have ceased to "flow" with easy mobility; monopoly-finance capitalism has been superimposed upon a simple competitive capitalism. In short, markets are no longer "perfect." Equilibrium economists, unwilling to re-

linquish deductive analysis, have set to work to provide a "new box of tools" and to put keener edges on those old ones that are still useful. The result has been a number of systematic analyses of economic behavior in "imperfect markets," the essential nature of which is revealed by their titles.<sup>24</sup>

SUPPORTED by certain classical postulates, such as enlightened self-interest and pecuniary logic, and constructed from materials supplied by conventional categories of marginal analysis, these systems are better described as fresh and mature approaches to a theory of value than as original bodies of economic theory. They have striven to readapt a useful set of concepts to the realities of a swiftly changing world. It seems paradoxical that such a laudable motive should have produced a type of theory so far removed from that world. The level of abstraction in these volumes is painfully high. In part, this is due to the difficult mathematics, not to speak of the economics, of demand and supply curve analysis. The assumptions necessary to their analysis, moreover, are often very unreal. These works will fail to satisfy those who are searching for an immediate deductive solution of monopoly value and distribution in the present stage of intricate market relationships. But the work of these painstaking scholars is unfinished. As Mrs Robinson says, the work must progress "stage by stage toward the distant ideal" of reaching an analysis ultimately capable of explaining the real world.<sup>25</sup> Whatever one may think of the analytical methods of Chamberlin and Robinson, their approach at least is intensely realistic. In treating "perfect competition" as the special case "in a world of monopolies," the conventional procedure is reversed.

The pure theory of equilibrium, as such,

<sup>20</sup> G. D. H. Cole, *What Everybody Wants to Know About Money*, by nine Oxford Economists. New York: Knopf, 1933.

<sup>21</sup> H. G. Moulton, *Formation of Capital*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1935.

<sup>22</sup> W. R. Green, *Theory and Practice of Modern Taxation*. New York: Commerce Clearing House, 1933.

<sup>23</sup> Kemper Simpson, *Introduction to World Economics*. New York: Harper, 1934.

<sup>24</sup> J. M. Robinson, *Economics of Imperfect Competition*. London: Macmillan, 1933; E. H. Chamberlin, *Theory of Monopolistic Competition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1933.

<sup>25</sup> J. M. Robinson, *Economics of Imperfect Competition*, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

affords no explanation on the difficult and intangible problems of business cycles. It centers upon the forces which automatically tend to preserve stability rather than upon those which generate movements away from equilibrium. To a theory of balance must be added an analysis of disturbing influences, one of the most important of which is the volume of money in circulation. There have long been monetary explanations of the cycle of business but, according to some recent observers, they have erred by being too general and too monetary because they have failed to unite monetary theory with a theory of production. Such a critique comes from a man who has set in motion one of the most stimulating currents in contemporary economic thought.<sup>26</sup> His conclusions, if true, will undermine most of our conventional notions about general price levels, elastic currencies, reflation, and pump-priming policies. The boom, according to Hayek, is an elongation of the "structure of production" and is caused by an expansion of bank currency; that is, by forced saving. The inevitable consequence is a shrinkage in the "structure" which is the depression. From this is drawn the deduction that equilibrium depends upon a constant supply of money or, as he calls it, a "neutral" money. His views have raised some doubts about the wisdom of price stability as the best criterion of bank policy. At the same time one may question whether a neutral money would be either expedient or just in an economic order where prices are becoming more inflexible.

**I**f general agreement is a reliable touchstone of the definitive stage in our knowledge of monetary theory, it is clear that the goal of certainty is not at hand. The direction of Hayek's thread of argument has been reversed by such writers as E. F. M. Durbin and L. Currie.<sup>27</sup> From these and other recent works monetary theory appears to be evolving from more primitive stages.

<sup>26</sup> F. A. Hayek, *Prices and Production*. 2nd and enl. ed. London: Routledge, 1935.

The earlier phases stressed general quantitative relations between credit and prices. Lately, there has been marked emphasis upon the growing complexity of these relations and upon qualitative aspects of credit control which, in turn, has called forth a re-examination of central banking functions and responsibilities. Writers like Durbin and Currie argue for a centralization of powers which could check any immediate threat to monetary stability as well as set up a consistent long-range policy. Currie, departing considerably from orthodoxy at many points, has based his plea for a managed currency on the opinion that supplying money and loaning money are logically distinct functions and must be separated. Currie's provocative book might prove to be an important contribution to policy if his analyses could be inductively verified.

**T**HE title to Cassel's latest book<sup>28</sup> suggests the existence and increasing strength of a current tendency toward a more inductive and progressive economic theory. W. C. Mitchell's successes in bringing inductive methods to economic theory have inspired other theoreticians to extend the scope of this kind of work. An excellent illustration is Paul Douglas's statistical verification of orthodox marginal productivity theory of distribution.<sup>29</sup> His measurements, ascertained by methods analagous to those often used to substantiate demand and supply curve analysis of prices, reveal a close correlation between labor's theoretical contribution to product (imputed marginal productivity) and the general rate of wages. Other concepts, such as normal elasticity of demand for labor, are also inductively confirmed. This brilliant demonstration of the

<sup>27</sup> L. B. Currie, *Supply and Control of Money in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1934; E. F. M. Durbin, *Purchasing Power and the Trade Depression*. London: Jonathan Cape, rev. ed., 1933; E. F. M. Durbin, *The Problem of Credit Policy*. New York: Wiley, 1935.

<sup>28</sup> G. Cassel, *On Quantitative Thinking in Economics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935.

<sup>29</sup> P. H. Douglas, *Theory of Wages*. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

services inductive methods may render economic theory is matched by another piece of work which, like Douglas's, is as important for its method as for its subject matter. J. M. Clark's<sup>30</sup> eclectic methodology has merged several separate approaches to the business cycle problem. Quantitative data have invested his use of concepts with real meaning. In particular, Clark has refined and fashioned one of the most elementary economic concepts—derived demand—into a key instrument of "strategic" importance to economic analysis.

THE differentiation between "pure" and "applied" economics has long been recognized by students of economic science. It is still unquestioned by those who believe that economic truths are discoverable only by the "dispassionate" mind, any departure from which violates the fundamental canon of scientific investigation. In accordance with this belief, the "pure" scientist's function is primarily to analyze economic behavior, and not to reform it. His science is "applied" by other hands. A strict interpretation of this criterion of "pure" economics would reach relatively few works in the history of economics. The best books of Marshall, J. B. Clark, and H. J. Davenport illustrate "pure" economics in its ideal form. To these names can be added, among others in the period under review, Mrs Robinson, Chamberlin, Cassel, and Wicksell.<sup>31</sup> Of the other equilibrium economists considered, Durbin, Hayek, Douglas, Clark, and Currie have not patterned their works with strict conformity to the "pure" tradition. Implicitly or explicitly suggestions for reform appear from time to time on their pages. However, their dominant interest is analysis.

<sup>30</sup> J. M. Clark, *Strategic Factors in Business Cycles*. New York: National Bureau of Economics Research. H. Wolff, 1934.

<sup>31</sup> K. Wicksell, *Lectures on Political Economy*. New York: Macmillan, 2 vols., 1934; for J. M. Robinson, *Economics of Imperfect Competition*, E. H. Chamberlin, *Theory of Monopolistic Competition*, G. Cassel, *On Quantitative Thinking in Economics*, see ante.

### MARXIST ECONOMICS

IT is fortunate that not all economists have been content to make description and "pure" analysis their sole or major preoccupation. The projection of active programs of reconstruction from their own analyses or from those of others has been the chosen purpose of a great many recent writers. The range and methods of these reform programs are wide indeed. Despite differences of doctrine and strategy existing among them there is at least one objective common to them all, namely, effective coordination of economic processes and a greater use of the facilities of production for the benefit of consumers.

The long years of depression have provided the setting for a spectacular revival of interest in the strongest measures of social reorganization. Among the many publications of current Marxist commentators only a few of the analytical works possess more than passing interest and importance. All of them reflect the general recognition among Marxists that reinterpretation of the founder's doctrines and their application to particular areas comprise the next stage of development in Marxist economics. An understanding of this renaissance of Marxism may be helped by a brief backward glance.

MARX'S masterpiece, *Capital*, was written within the same framework of preconceptions used by the "bourgeois" economist of the classical school. As has been said, these postulates are open to serious doubts. His analysis, moreover, appeared at a time when industrial capitalism was passing through a highly competitive era. The concept "labor theory of value" taken from Ricardo and developed by Marx into the general law from which were deduced surplus value, capital accumulation, increasing misery and other "categories" enjoyed greater repute than it does today. Not only was the force of tradition supporting it but there were fewer competing theories of value at the time. The fully matured analy-



sis of value based upon the "mechanics of utility" postdated Volume I of "Capital." Again, the labor theory has been held unreal in a machine age when fixed capital is so conspicuous a factor of production. Consequently the theory has lost ground. With the supposed defeat of the labor theory, the specious character of all inferences drawn from it was held to be self-evident. For America at least, riding high on periodic waves of prosperity, it appeared to most people as if Marxism had no meaning at all. But the last great crisis and depression, as has been shown, weakened the position of authority enjoyed by orthodox economics. To the questions why the catastrophe had occurred and what should be done about it economists offered contradictory and, sometimes, confusing answers. Meanwhile the Marxists were preparing to step forward with their analysis of what they regarded as the true nature of capitalistic crisis and its solution.

PERHAPS the most distinguished spokesman of Marxism today (outside the U. S. S. R.) is John Strachey. His superb *Coming Struggle for Power*, which is less an examination of the "coming struggle" than it is a highly intelligent apologia for communism, has been followed by other good books.<sup>32</sup> Sydney Hook's<sup>33</sup> title *Towards the Understanding of Marx* well summarizes the purpose of *Nature of Capitalist Crisis*. While Hook discusses the historical tenets of Marxism, Strachey redefines the "economic categories" in terms of the present crisis and of current modes of factory production and market behavior. This book, with its attempt to explain the crisis, to rescue the labor theory of value, and to solve the "great contradiction," aims to advance the cause of a type of analysis which

its exponents claim is the most profound of all. Whether it is wrong or right, Marxist economics does possess one important logical advantage over other systems of theory. Its treatment of crisis and depression is closely integrated with its analysis of capitalism's inner "laws of motion."

MARXISTS long ago adopted the strategy of defending their own theories by attacking those of others. The keen controversial skill of Marx, Engels, and Lenin has not been exhibited by some of their more recent followers, Cole, Corey, and Strachey. Of this group, the most violent critic of other "unorthodox" explanations of crises is Strachey, who claims to have demolished all others. Of those which fall under his view—Hobson, Hayek, and Major Douglas—only his refutation of the social credit school is convincing. Like the critical, the propagandist force of Marxism has sometimes been weakened by a lapse from analysis into dogmatism. The deduction of the certain downfall of capitalism from the operation of inexorable laws is at least debatable. The assertion that there exist only two possible future choices for industrial nations, the Russian way or a barbaric fascism, can be categorically denied.

Though oriented chiefly toward British capitalism, interpretations like Strachey's—in the opinion of Marxists—are equally applicable to the world's greatest capitalist power. In spite of general common characteristics among capitalist nations there are enough differences to justify special treatments of each. Until recently there was no painstaking and scholarly interpretation of Marxism specifically drawn in American terms. Lewis Corey<sup>34</sup> goes far beyond applying the touchstone of historical materialism. Value, surplus value, accumulation of capital, crisis, and imperialism—all the Marx-Leninist concepts—are brought to the rich materials of American life. That his work is well documented with statistics

<sup>32</sup> New York: Covici, Friede, 1933; *The Menace of Fascism*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1933; *Literature and Dialectical Materialism*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1934; *The Nature of Capitalist Crisis*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1935.

<sup>33</sup> Sydney Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Marx*. New York: John Day, 1933.

<sup>34</sup> Lewis Corey, *Decline of American Capitalism*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1934.

supplied by the recognized bourgeois sources shields the analysis from the charge of false propaganda. His thesis of a declining capitalism, however, assumes exhaustion of resources and of foreign opportunities. It overlooks hidden possibilities in untouched consumers' wants and in technological growth which could be made effective only in a planned and regulated capitalism. Doubtless Mr Corey does not believe that capitalism can plan—and perhaps he is right.

THE extent to which the "laws of motion" in American capitalism are pushing middle class elements down into the ranks of the proletariat is examined by Corey in another volume.<sup>35</sup> It attempts to verify inductively the Marxian principle of increasing proletarianization. The author discovers, with the help of a fairly arbitrary definition, that four-fifths of the middle class has become propertyless and dependent upon centralized means of production. This would make a total proletarian army of 39,000,000 in America. But mere numbers, even if his estimate were precise, do not make a revolutionary movement. The "new proletarians" might with greater likelihood fall prey to some fascist demagogue as has happened elsewhere and is, perhaps, beginning to happen here.

Not all Marxist commentators agree. From the pen of the indefatigable G. D. H. Cole has come a popularization which dissents, sometimes in a curious fashion, from other interpretations.<sup>36</sup> To be told that the truth of all Marx's doctrines including the dialectics was revealed not by the events of the nineteenth century when capitalism was at the height of its powers but by the crisis in seventeenth century capitalism may surprise some readers. If this is true, Marx's rôle in the history of the nineteenth century becomes that of prophet rather than analyst. Unlike Corey, Cole believes that a

new middle class consisting of technicians and business administrators has emerged as a result of capital accumulation—a novel kind of confirmation of Marx. These are not very serious departures from orthodoxy. For the most part, this excellent study parallels closely other commentaries upon increasing misery, unemployment, the crushing of unions and the rise of fascism. Some observers, sensitive to the rising popular interest in Marxism, have chosen to permit the older masters to speak for themselves. E. Burns<sup>37</sup> has assembled a group of extractions from the finest writings of Max Engels and Lenin. The publication of several Marxist classics in a well edited series is another important event.<sup>38</sup>

DILECTICAL materialism—the "energizing" principle and the inner essence of capitalism's laws of motion and, according to many Marxists, the most fundamental of all Marxian concepts—has not been neglected in recent literature. Hook's stimulating book<sup>39</sup> is a brilliant discussion of the implications of historical and dialectical materialism. The author's rejection of the economics of Marx as a colossal piece of clever propaganda and his appraisal of Marx as a forerunner of Deweyan instrumentalism have made him unpopular with the orthodox "left." That popular interest in the science of dialectical materialism is reflected in the many recent volumes on the subject. Most of them are brief and rudimentary explanations of a very difficult concept. The best of these is August Thalheimer's little book,<sup>40</sup> a series of lucid discussions designed to instruct people in the elements of "thinking dialectically." A foundation for a much needed general syn-

<sup>35</sup> E. Burns, *Handbook of Marxism*. New York: International Publishers, 1935.

<sup>36</sup> *Collected Work of Lenin*, edited by H. Trachtenburg. New York: International Publishers, 1933; K. Marx, *Civil War in France*. New York: International Publishers, 1933; K. Marx, *Critique of Gotha Programme*. New York: International Publishers, 1933.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> *Introduction to Dialectical Materialism*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1936.

<sup>35</sup> Lewis Corey, *The Crisis of the Middle Class*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1935.

<sup>36</sup> G. D. H. Cole, *What Marx Really Meant*. New York: Knopf, 1934.

thesis of all independent studies made of Marxian dialectics now exists. Another short work of Strachey<sup>41</sup> illustrates the method of interpreting dialectically certain literary changes among the middle and proletarian writers.

**H**ISTORICAL surveys of settings in which great books are written, biographies, and correspondence, are instrumental in helping to reveal what authors "really meant." This is especially true of Marx. The letters of Marx and Engels,<sup>42</sup> should prove of immense value to modern labor leaders and students of Marxism. Far more significant, however, is the publication in 1935 of the only good biography of Marx in existence, now made available to the English speaking world by translation.<sup>43</sup> Avoiding a popular anecdotal style and approaching his subject without prejudice or sentimentality, the author lays before the reader a picture of a great genius whose character was marked by many weaknesses. A skillful treatment of the burning issues and the great personalities of Marx's time help to make the appearance of this work in English a truly great event in the literary history of the international labor movement.

The spectacular progress of the U.S.S.R. during a period of capitalist decay has added

<sup>41</sup> *Literature and Dialectical Materialism. op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*. New York: International Publishers, 1935.

<sup>43</sup> Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald. New York: Covici, Friede, 1935.

the argument of successful experiment to the theories of Marx, Lenin and Strachey. For detailed accounts of this experience one can turn to several sources. W. H. Chamberlin's work,<sup>44</sup> lacking the brilliance and the fire of Trotsky's great history, is an important addition to the still inadequate literature of the Russian revolution. It is a chronicle, not a philosophical interpretation, of events, though it is tinged with a slight bias. Of far greater use to the social scientist is the grand recapitulation of the economic life in the Soviet Union prepared by the most distinguished of all living students of human amelioration, the Webbs.<sup>45</sup>

**L**ESS doctrinaire and less rash in prediction than the orthodox Marxists are the Socialists. Mr. Thomas's rather prolific writing has dealt more with indictments of the New Deal and with accounts of mass exploitation than with dogma.<sup>46</sup> He seems to be moving farther away from the doctrinaire socialism of the Hillquit type, a fact which may have some relationship with his interest in working for a coalition of labor, farm and white collar elements and a united front. What is missed in these books is an analysis of underlying economic forces.

<sup>44</sup> W. H. Chamberlin, *History of the Russian Revolution, 1917-1921*. New York: Macmillan, 2 vols., 1935.

<sup>45</sup> S. and B. Webb. *Soviet Communism, A New Civilization?* London: Longmans, Green, 2 vols., 1935.

<sup>46</sup> N. M. Thomas. *The Choice Before Us*. New York: Macmillan, 1934; N. M. Thomas. *Human Exploitation*. New York: F. Stokes, 1934.

(To be continued)



---

# Have You Read?

KATHARINE ELIZABETH CRANE

---

**I**T HAS always seemed to me as one of the satisfactions of the passing years that ever-increasing personal experience and observation can be brought to bear on understanding and accepting the immediate present. From the vantage ground of middle life one observes how lives have actually turned out, how wide is the diversity of possible adjustment to similar circumstances, and how manifold the variations of human nature. Perhaps this is especially true of those of us whose roots lie in a small community where we touch intimately the lives of many persons outside our own social, economic, and intellectual orbit. In very much the same way it seems to me that a knowledge of history is a kind of widening and lengthening of personal experience to events and circumstances beyond the span of one life. A valid trademark of the historian ought to be his grip on present reality in its relation to the long story of human development.

## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

**S**UCH a historical outlook on the experience of many revolutions must lead us to weigh and measure the present revolution in Spain in the terms of other revolutions. When you read this magazine the hand of time will have unrolled many pages of the story of events in Spain, as they affect the fate of that unhappy land and as they affect the world. Whatever I may write here, you will necessarily read with a knowledge some weeks later than mine. Nevertheless, whatever may be the status of opinion and

events at the moment, whether the brink of European war be over-passed, Spain's difficulties apparently solved by the appearance of a dictator, or the revolutionary parties still at deadlock, it is well to remember that things are seldom so simple as they seem to contemporary observers and readers of newspapers. Revolutions are vast welters of opposing interests, stresses and strains; and the history of revolutions points out that additional confusion is usually supplied by international complications.

In the present case the alignment of Europe into two opposing camps and the nervous character of the general European situation make the Spanish contestants peculiarly subject to outside influences and render a conflagration over any Spanish crisis imminent in all Europe. The *Nation* for November 28 published an article on "The Little World War Begins to Grow." "Had it been a genuine civil war the struggle between the fascist troops of France and the Spanish republican army would probably have ended early with the defeat of the fascists. But it never was that. From the beginning, arms and planes and technicians flowed across the borders from Italy and then from Germany, to augment the inadequate rebel supplies. After the neutrality agreement came into being, the fascist flood continued, and finally, belatedly, Soviet Russia began to ship equipment to Madrid. Officially, of course, it is still a civil war. . . . So that, behind a diplomatic false-face, a situation has developed in which Italy and Germany are waging un-

declared war against Soviet Russia, both actively with guns and men on the soil of Spain and through charges and counter-charges and diplomatic maneuvers in capitals a thousand miles from Madrid. France is not yet physically engaged, although its sympathies are with the Spanish Government and its interests are there, too. But diplomatically it is tied to Great Britain and emotionally it is torn between sympathy for Spain and horror of war." Then there is "the anti-Communist alliance made or in the making between Germany, Japan, and Italy. . . . This cannot please Great Britain, whatever its sentiments toward the Soviet Union and the Spanish left. But it may easily frighten both Britain and France into continued delay and hesitation."

**A**S far as it goes, it is doubtless valid to describe the Spanish war in terms of the alignment of Loyalists—leftists, communists, anarchists, and probably the great body of republicans—against Rebels—fascists, royalists, and the complex forces of the Roman Catholic Church, all under the leadership of the army led by General Franco; but the difficulty comes in trying to analyze the parties in terms of their constituent parts with a just evaluation of the motives and aims of each. It seems evident that this cannot be analyzed completely in terms of Right and Left, Fascist and Communist, Roman Catholic and anti-Christian, Royalist and Republican, or even Conservative and Liberal, although that probably represents the nearest to truth, being the most indefinite. Certain circumstances stand out, which refuse to arrange themselves neatly in any of the suggested patterns of explanation.

Of these, two may be mentioned here as examples. The Basques, a devoutly Roman Catholic people, have supported the Loyalists. This has been done in the face of the general identification of the Church's interests with the revolutionary party in the rest of Spain, and is probably largely owing to the statute of autonomy that was approved

by the Spanish parliament on October 1. It is notable that the church leaders in the Basque country have taken little active part in the political struggle; and the republican government has shown little of the anti-Christian bias so freely ascribed to it. The churches have remained open and have functioned freely in the region. On the other side of the picture, Navarre, an active adherent of the present rebellion and burning with Roman Catholic zeal, in spite of her proud tradition of leadership in the expulsion of the Moors has looked on with apparent approval at the return to Spain of Moorish troops to fight against the established government.

The formal agreement of the European powers to withhold open shipments of supplies and munitions of war to either side, Loyalist or Rebel, was a momentous decision. Although the Rebels are believed to have profited earlier by aid from Italy and Germany, by the terms of the neutrality agreement the European powers, contrary to the usage of international law, denied to the legally constituted government of Spain the means to put down rebellion within her borders. This departure from customary usage is pregnant with future importance. It is difficult to come to any adequate explanation of its rather casual acceptance among the peoples of the world.

Like a kaleidoscope the situation shifts and changes. We may understand a good deal of its structure and can visualize the separate pieces of glass; but we cannot foresee what patterns it will make as it is turned by changing circumstances now to the right and now to the left. Whatever may be a valid diagnosis of the situation, one cannot escape the conviction that momentous conclusions hang in the balance. The task that is ahead is to reconcile all but irreconcilable differences and forgive all but unforgivable wrongs; and there is nothing in Spain's history to lead observers to believe that she has either the mind or the will to accomplish that Herculean labor. Whether or no she quickly finds a strong leader to support her

in her instant peril, we shall hardly see Spain at peace within herself for some time to come. It is possible that we are watching what is the end of the long decline of Spain in modern times.

The magazines have been full of attempts to present various points of view. Among the best of these articles, I think, has been a series in the English *Fortnightly*, in September an article by Lawrence A. Fernsworth, who was for several years on the staff of the *New York Times* and has been in Spain for some time, in October one on "Spain and British Policy" by F. A. Voigt of the *Manchester Guardian* and another by William C. Atkinson, professor of Spanish at Glasgow University, on "The Civil War and After," and in the November issue on "Spain from the Inside" by W. Horsfall Carter.

MEANWHILE there is to be considered the record of human experience in the situation. The November issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* contains "A Diary of Revolution" by Megan Laird and "With the Rebels" by John Elliott. In both of these we have the quick sense of how chaos arrives, for Mrs Laird as she lay in her bed in her own quiet apartment in Barcelona and for Mr Elliott just when his passport happened to be in a bank vault over the weekend. Writing at ten o'clock on the Sunday morning of July 19 Mrs Laird announced, "We are in the midst of Revolution. . . . Twenty-four hours ago we were lying on the sands . . . listening to the wash of the Mediterranean at our feet and feeling the sunlight hot and kindly." She had been awakened at five that morning "by a metallic crackling, spitting, crashing, that enters in a flood of sound through my open window." She ran to the window to look out. All seems "tranquil and motionless, empty of any human being," but a few minutes later "four mules dragging an empty and clattering gun carriage are plunging down the street. Behind them gallop four saddled but riderless horses." A group

of soldiers "emerge like unexpected apparitions from beneath the trees. . . . Crouching, with our heads beneath the level of the window sills, we struggle to swing shut the heavy wooden blinds and close and bar the windows." It is Revolution but "who is revolting against whom? We cannot tell. . . . We only know that Hell itself has opened in the streets beneath our windows. The noise of the guns, the bombs, the grenades, is deafening. And in the tiny lulls between one discharge and another we hear the same cacophonic echo sounding distantly from every other part of Barcelona. Occasionally the whole is blotted out in the long, hoarse roar of the cannon. . . . Suddenly the drone of an airplane motor is heard directly above our heads. In a minute the plane itself dips into our line of vision. . . . There is a sharp rattle of machine guns from the plane. They are firing at random on the streets and houses below." There are the sufferings and the cries of the wounded, " 'I am dying. I am dying! Open the doors! Take me in.' . . . But all down the street the doors and windows remain tight shut. It is certain death to emerge into the streets, even to save the wounded. . . . In a tragic chorus now, from all over the street, come the groans and sobs of the wounded and the dying." Then "a slender column of black smoke begins to rise, wavering, uncertain, from beside the towers. . . . The black smoke billows up in larger and larger clouds . . . and flames lick up . . . crackling in high, singing ribbons." For Mrs Laird deliverance came swiftly by right of her own American citizenship and her husband's Italian citizenship; but what of those they left behind? "We must say good-bye . . . only the foreigners may pass the door. . . . They wave at us once. . . . We do not see them again."

Some of Mr Elliott's information was second-hand. An English woman married to a photographer of Burgos told him about the night of July 18 there. "Early in the evening . . . crowds were promenading up and down the Paseo, as usual, and couples



were flirting in the balconies. Then suddenly Socialist guards with red arm bands appeared, and everybody fled terrified to their houses. For several hours the streets were entirely deserted except for the patrolling Red Guards. About two o'clock in the morning soldiers from the garrison began parading the streets, and after beating drums read a pronouncement announcing that the city was under martial law.'"

Two personalities, Major Palaccio and a captain of the cavalry, clarified for Mr Elliott certain aspects of the Rebel leaders, especially their extreme cruelty and their inability to accept essential changes in the mind and conscience of the world. The captain, a member of an ancient Spanish house, explained how his family once owned all the land between Salamanca and the Portuguese frontier in terms that conveyed his belief in the essential virtue of that kind of an arrangement; and Mr Elliott wrote that he thought those two men faithfully reflected the mental outlook of the Rebels leading what they considered to be a holy crusade against the republican form of government and way of life. To him the minds and characters of the Rebel leaders appeared to be a living inheritance from the days when the Inquisition and the auto-da-fé attempted to prevent changes in thought and religion.

F. S. Marvin in "Spain and Humanity" in the original English edition of the *Contemporary Review* for November has this to add, "The tragedy of Spain would not be thrown away if it became to all of us a warning and a subject for compassionate and careful healing rather than another battlefield. Spain at least is no danger as an aggressive foe. . . . She has suffered, largely from the selfish actions of her neighbours as well as from her own internal faults. But Europe needs her, the closest link we have with all the central and southern mass of the New World, which needs her also. The problem . . . is much more than merely Spanish or even European. It is a human problem in the fullest sense."

#### AMERICAN ALOOFNESS

EUROPE has lived for years—almost a generation now—in the ever-quickenening fear of the future. As I have been in Europe in each of these past years I have been impressed with the anxious concern of all the persons I met. It is not only that they suffer under a conviction of the certainty of war, but also that they have an overwhelming sense of the futility of war. It is as though the glamour of patriotism is gone, while its necessities remain. It is a state of mind that I can observe sympathetically and share intellectually; but it cannot consume me emotionally, for I belong to a country, at the moment, at least, less pressed by the circumstances of its fate. I remain somewhat aloof, whatever may be my intellectual convictions concerning the essential unity of this round world, grown very small through the fertile inventiveness of its dominant animal, man.

It is this American aloofness to which Europeans often refer, with envy rather than malice; but it is seldom that one reads from any European pen an explanation of that attitude in terms of a description of our western coast. "Brobdingnag in the West" by Harrison Brown in the same issue of the *Contemporary Review* is in reality an analysis of some essential reasons for the aloofness of North America, conscious or unconscious in our group mind; and in that group mind he included the British subjects of Canada as well as the citizens of these United States. "Man's sympathies are not elastic in radius. A railway smash in the next county will always arouse more emotion than a famine in China. To the native-born inhabitants of the Far West a European war is—just another war. . . . It is the simple facts of geography which we are apt to forget or not to realize. That British Columbia, for example, is four times the size of the whole British Isles. . . . The Pacific Coast is the periphery of the Western world. . . . 'You will have to travel east now, you know, whichever way you go home.'"

Under the immediate influence of these realizations Mr Brown undertook a trip down the Pacific coast, crossing that "four thousand miles of undefended frontier," which always sticks in Europe's craw. "One thinks of miles of well-kept orchard country . . . four hundred miles of rugged coastline" strewn with great trees uprooted by storm. "There is enough driftwood piled along the Oregon coast to warm half the homes in Britain for a winter." He became "accustomed to views which elsewhere would have halted the most blasé of tourists," saw the sea lions' cave at Heceta Head, which he called "the most impressive of all the natural sights I have ever seen," crossed the state line into California, and was quickly among the redwood trees. "There is nothing new to be said about them. Like so much else in the West, they must be seen to be believed. Most of them are between two and four thousand years old and stand about three hundred feet high. They are the oldest living things and they never die. When they fall their offspring grows straight from their trunks."

BY the time he reached San Francisco his English point of view was thoroughly demoralized. "If San Francisco is beautiful, the approaches to it are enchanting. In approaches I am using the scale of the country and mean, say, the last hundred miles or so. . . . The canyons of Eel River, the fantastic trees of the Redwood Empire, the endless miles of foaming rock-bound coast and grim mountains, all have gone and in their place is a smiling southern land." It was sunset as he crossed from Sausalito and looked out through the Golden Gate to catch his first glimpse of the Golden Gate Bridge. For him all other bridges "pale to insignificance beside the three giant bridges of San Francisco Bay."

"Bridges that are miles long and tall as Eiffel Towers. Trees through which run roads and in which shops are built. It all smacks of Brobdingnag. One feels the scale of measurement should be in 'glomglungs,'

for otherwise, as Gulliver has said, 'a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travellers are often suspected to do.'"

I am reminded of a young British diplomat who had finished a term of service in this country by a trip to the west coast. On the last night before he sailed for home he was lyric on the subject of the size and splendor of that vast hinterland. He, too, was caught by the imaginative grace and technical achievement of the long spans of the Golden Gate Bridge. Figures, actual and comparative, of distances, weights, thrusts, and strengths came trippingly to his tongue. Then, answering some remark of mine with one gulp of American humor by exaggeration he announced that there was nothing left for him to do but to go home and organize a company to build a bridge across the English channell

#### TUGWELL

THOSE Americans whose faith in human nature as represented by the leaders of the New Deal suffered a severe shock in the resignation of Rexford Guy Tugwell ought to read Paul W. Ward's comment in his "Washington Weekly" of the *Nation* for November 28. I can quote only the final sentence. "But the chief reason was that he had been offered a better-paying job with what looks like a more secure future; he could have stayed here if he had wanted to."

#### INVENTION AND EDUCATION

THE Explosive Tricycle" in the November *Harpers Magazine* is an interesting series of Hiram Percy Maxim's recollections of the horseless carriage days, but certain casual remarks indicate something that is perhaps illuminating as to what will be the actual course of our history in the years that lie immediately ahead of us. From some points of view the future of our world seems hopeless to many of us. In our political and economic life we have been unable to create new forms of social adjustment to keep

abreast of the technical developments of our age. We have failed to design the political and social machinery to make distribution keep up the pace of production. It is a failure that in the last analysis lies in the lap of the social scientists, and we have good cause for discouragement. In such circumstances we may consider the possibility that a new invention, like the automobile, may so completely change the face of the world as to offer a present way out of our manifold difficulties and provide a breathing space in which, somehow, we may find the inner strength to devise new social adjustments. The late inventor of the Maxim silencer and one of the earliest builders of automobiles hinted that such an invention may lie just around the corner. "What is it whose coming has had to await the airplane? I suspect it is an entirely new form of motive power. The airplane has created a demand for something beyond the ability of the gasoline engine to supply. This something is bound to appear. Who shall say that another fifty forward-looking men are not at work independently upon it at this moment, keeping their efforts secret just as our horseless-carriage pioneers forty years ago kept our efforts secret, and just as ignorant of one another's existence as we were. History has a strange way of repeating itself."

Maxim's appreciation of the fact that science is essentially a creative thing always of the future as well as of the past makes an interesting contrast to an article "In Defense of Annapolis" in the December issue of the *Forum* by James R. Browne, a graduate of the naval academy now in civil life a graduate student in Romance languages. He there answers an article in the November issue of that magazine by James Oliver Brown condemning the academy because its graduates are almost wholly ignorant of such great cultural subjects as history, literature, the fine arts, philosophy, psychology, biology, and geology and because it is lamentably deficient "in training to live the good life, to expand and to grow."

Mr Browne's position is positive. "It is questionable whether a man can be a naval officer and have room in his makeup for anything but the navy. . . . The naval profession requires . . . complete subordination to incredible amounts of machinery and matériel." As far as concerns "training to live the good life, to expand, and to grow" he is sure that "you would get a blank look if you offered such a program to a naval officer." I suppose his statements are correct—lamentably. Most educational institutions send out graduates with that blank look. Nevertheless it remains true that such an education represents as bad a preparation for war as it does for life. War is an art as well as a science, and wars are won by creative, imaginative minds that can invent some new combination of old principles and methods. Insofar as we have any glimpse of what education stimulates the development of creative intelligence it is the kind of education that is wholly inimicable to the blank look.

THOMAS NAST

OF the several excellent articles in the autumn issue of the *American Scholar* I can only mention here William Murrell's on "Nast, Gladiator of the Political Pencil." He wrote that "Nast is often spoken of as the first great American cartoonist. In a very real sense he was the last. . . . Indeed since that day the cartoon has largely lost its effectiveness as a leader and moulder of politics, contenting itself now with reflections and echoes." Tracing Nast's career through his support of the Civil War, unfaltering approval of Grant in all the ramifications of the Radical Republican program and the scandals of the presidency, brilliant attacks on the Tammany Tiger, and final defection to Cleveland, the author presented an interesting account of his ability and his achievement. "Nothing directed his hand but his own convictions"; but the inclusion of a letter from N. P. Chipman, minimizing the scandal of the *Crédit Mobilier*, points out convincingly at least one way



in which his convictions were shaped by discreet explanation and advice. The reproduction of three cartoons reminds us of the matchless technical skill of that pen, dipped though it was in gall.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN ENGLAND

YOU really did not expect me to finish this without any word concerning the constitutional question that is agitating the British Empire? In the space of which I can dispose here I cannot undertake a discussion of the British constitution, but I must remark that the constitutional right is not so clear, on either side, as some persons would seem to indicate. One ought, also, to examine the high dynastic question of those divorces in the light of a little history. Has England forgotten that Eleanor of Aquitaine was divorced from Louis VII of France on the plea of consanguinity before she became the wife of Henry II of England, mother of two English kings, Richard Coeur de Lion and John, and the injured wife in the famous romance of the Fair Rosamond? Also has England forgotten that one of the fairly unsavory divorces of Henry VIII gave England the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth? As for the question of morganatic marriage, there is precedent for the fact if not the name in English history. In 1785, only four generations removed from the present king, against the opposition of his father, the cabinet, and parliament, George IV, then Prince of Wales, was secretly married by a clergyman of the Church of England to Maria Fitzherbert, with whom he continued to live after his marriage to Caroline.

From the larger point of view I suppose one of the most important considerations in the whole matter is the effect of censorship, in this case apparently voluntary, on the fate of the British Empire. In an article "Mrs. Simpson and Palace Politics," in the *Nation* of November 7, an English editor could say that "most people in England know nothing of the King's friendship with Mrs Simpson or of the possibility of their

marriage. . . . Politically in England the affair is not a major issue." The same ignorance obtained until the whole affair came to a constitutional crisis. On December 4 the *New York Times*, referring to the final breakdown of British censorship on the subject, remarked that "the British public discovered today what a 'constitutional crisis' looked like when skillfully photographed fresh from the hairdresser and carefully transmuted into two and three-column portraits in the London evening papers."

Without complete information and without time for a careful consideration of their own needs and paramount desires in all the circumstances, the British people were faced with a very grave crisis. On the constitutional side, is it true that this represents an attempt by Edward VIII to encroach upon the prerogatives of parliament? Or does it represent an attempt of the cabinet to make an issue of advice to the monarch on the subject of his private life? In spite of current opinion to the contrary, it is true that some British monarchs have had "private lives." Even in the taste of this generation, there has been little public discussion of the general reputation for a "private life" that was enjoyed by Edward VII, the grandfather of Edward VIII. In his lifetime there was no constitutional crisis over it, although it was certainly a matter of grave anxiety. What does the British Empire want most and what does the British Empire need most? What can it give up and what must it keep? What can it keep? Owing to the censorship the British are very far from their own best adjustment to the facts and the necessities.

THE dangers of censorship do not lie, I suppose, in the injustice to the censored but, rather, in the injustice to the body politic, which is by the censorship cut off from the theory and practice of discussion that would help to the wisest decision in all the circumstances. Permitting too much to be said publicly may offend canons of taste and breeding, but seldom causes the

amount of serious harm that saying too little can cause. It seems probable that if the British had been discussing this matter for some time both the King and the people could have come to a better understanding of the position of the other and, thus, a better understanding of what must be done. It still seems very probable that the slow emotions and the political genius of the British peoples may yet spare them the worst results of a hasty decision; but, whatever may be the final outcome, it would seem that its acceptance might have been more complete and less bitter if it had been reached after a relatively long period of discussion and consideration.

THE other aspect of this situation that I want to discuss is the question of its bearing on the interpretation of history. Aside from the various motives that may or may not actuate other persons involved in the final decision, the motives of the King seem to be involved primarily with emotions

about which poetry, music, art, and literature have concerned themselves through the centuries but of which history has been little aware. Having increasingly interested ourselves in the social and economic interpretation of history, is it not about time that we accept some biographical interpretation of history and address ourselves to the realization that the mainsprings of personality and character sometimes lie too deep for complete analysis in finite terms? We can not always give to our own motives a social and economic interpretation. We have difficulty in analyzing those of Edward VIII in such terms. We probably ought not be too sure about the motives of men and generations long since dead. At times it may be the better part of teaching and writing to strive for the sense of personality, for the breath of reality in life's actors as they walk across the pages of history, and content ourselves with knowing rather little about the inner springs of their conduct.

---

## NOTES AND NEWS

---

### DETROIT MEETING

THE second independent annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies was held in Detroit on November 27 and 28. Some five hundred teachers attended; twenty states including Florida and Washington, Massachusetts, and Oklahoma, were represented. Howard C. Hill, A. C. Krey, Edgar Dawson, R. M. Tryon, W. G. Kimmel, and E. B. Wesley, all former presidents, R. O. Hughes, Elmer Ellis, C. C. Barnes, H. E. Wilson, the present officers, C. H. McClure, F. P. Wirth, and E. M. Hunt, were present for the meeting of the Executive Committee.

The sessions opened Friday morning with C. C. Barnes, second vice-president and chairman of local arrangements presiding. After a welcome from Superintendent Frank Cody to which Dr Edgar Wesley responded, Professor D. L. Dumond of the University of Michigan attacked two "stubborn traditions." He traced the rise of the abolition movement in Ohio and the Old Northwest under the leadership of Theodore Weld and other theological students and ministers; from Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, from which the young abolitionists were expelled, the movement spread to and from Oberlin College, soon making contact with the work of the Grimké sisters in the East and stimulating abolitionist activity in Congress. Dr Dumond noted the beginnings of violence, the religious connections of abolitionism, and its importance in splitting first the Whig and later the Democratic party. He stressed the early

efforts to provide educational opportunity for Negroes. He then considered the tradition that Lincoln placed the preservation of the Union before emancipation, citing an anti-slavery speech at Cincinnati in 1842, Lincoln's forty votes for the Wilmot Proviso, and his refusal to accept a compromise on slavery after his election to the presidency. Noting that Lincoln did nothing to prevent the outbreak of war, and that his action may actually have precipitated the conflict, the speaker observed that Lincoln's lack of hatred for slaveholders should not be taken to indicate that he did not hate slavery, and prophesied that Lincoln's lasting fame would rest on his record in abolition and emancipation.

Professor Roy W. Hatch of the State Teachers College, Montclair, New Jersey, replaced Governor-Elect Frank Murphy as the second speaker. In discussing "The Teaching of Controversial Issues in the Classroom" he insisted that facts, while essential, are not enough. Advancing the formula "Find the Facts—Filter the Facts—Face the Facts—Follow Through," he insisted that learning must be followed by thought, and that attitudes must then be developed. Teachers must provide guidance, make data and sources available, and encourage pupils to formulate and express their views, challenging superficial and commending sound thinking. Warning that "one of the gravest charges to be laid at the door of indoctrination is that it is poor teaching," he nevertheless found no objection to the teacher's expressing his own



opinions, provided that he not force them upon his pupils, and that they be encouraged to hold and express divergent views. The essentials in discussing controversial matters, he indicated, are full information and free discussion.

Four luncheon conferences were held Friday noon. "Guiding Pupils' Study of Their Own Communities," "Testing in the Social Studies," "Is the Traditional Recitation in the Social Studies Obsolete?" and "The Unit in the Social Studies" provided themes for discussion by announced speakers and others in the groups gathered around the tables. The allotted time proved short, but the experiment with small informal groups appeared entirely successful.

Except the session to hear the presidential address by Mr Hughes, printed in this issue, the other meetings were held in sections. Only a few can be mentioned here. Professor Jacob C. Meyer of Western Reserve University presented some of the recommendations of a Cleveland committee on citizenship training: that the core of a curriculum ought to be social studies, required of all pupils in every grade and planned from primary grades through high school; that as much as one fifth of the social-studies time in high school should be devoted to current events, with emphasis on controversial points and methods of building public opinion and, finally, with realistic presentation of problems of government. Miss Florence R. Tryon from the Florida State College for Women at Tallahassee studied the state programs of thirteen states of the old South as a means of analyzing "Trends in Social Studies Programs in the South." She was not sure that the trends were "different in our section from those of any other," but was sure that the South is "alert to the problem and to the need for a significant place for social studies in the training of our boys and girls."

**T**HE important and too much neglected subject of social studies in the elementary grades was profitably discussed in a meeting

of which Miss Mary Kelty was chairman. Professor O. W. Stephenson of the University of Michigan discussed the articulation among different levels in terms of aims and specific criteria for judging activities, and content. Articulation should provide for continuing growth in character, attitudes, habits and skills, as well as for familiarity with organized information about the problems, experience, and achievement of man in all ages. Miss Mary Harden of the Horace Mann School for Girls, New York City, developed the possibilities of the community as a laboratory. "Homes, churches, schools, libraries, town halls, post office, banks, parks, theatres, museums, art centers, stores, radio stations, newspapers, dairies, factories, slums, railroads, bus lines, airports, fire stations, mill yards, and social service centers"—these and the street-cleaner, elevator strikes, and the erection of a new building across the street—all offer possibilities for the social studies from the first grade on. Professor M. W. Darlington of the University of Nebraska described all too convincingly the handicaps of staff, equipment, and procedure in small rural schools, and explained the efforts of his university to provide individualized learning units—"My Silent Teacher"—which in mimeographed form supplement or supplant the textbooks and the necessarily inadequate instruction of a teacher responsible for the entire program of eight grades.

Teacher training, progressive practices, indoctrination and propaganda, the study of international relations—these and more were subjects of thoughtful and stimulating discussion.

At the dinner meeting the National Council recognized its indebtedness to three former presidents, two of whom have also served as secretary-treasurer; honorary life membership and scrolls were bestowed upon Edgar Dawson, Bessie Louise Pierce, and A. C. Krey by Howard E. Wilson, with the very apparent endorsement of members present. Later, merited appreciation was

formally expressed to Mr Barnes and his associates for planning and carrying through a highly satisfactory series of meetings.

The following officers were elected for 1937: Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, president; Charles C. Barnes, head of the social-science department, Detroit Public Schools, first vice-president; Ruth West, Lewis and Clark High School, Spokane, second vice-president; Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University, secretary-treasurer; F. P. Wirth, Peabody College for Teachers, and Nelle E. Bowman, director of social studies, Tulsa, elective members of the Executive Committee.

The Thanksgiving meeting in 1937 will be held at St. Louis.

E. M. H.

THE American Historical Association terminated the agreement under which it had for three years provided for the editing of *The Social Studies*, effective December 31, 1936. *The Social Studies* will now be conducted for the McKinley Publishing Company by Dr A. E. Bining, Editor, and Mr A. E. McKinley, Jr., Managing Editor, at 1021 Filbert Street, Philadelphia. The official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies will now be SOCIAL EDUCATION.

#### PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

The November issue of *Education* is devoted to social science. Ernest R. Groves contributes a brief introduction. "The College Teaching of Contemporary Problems" is discussed by Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina. The social-science program of the P. K. Yonge school is described by G. Ballard Simmons. Roy W. Hatch considers "Teaching Controversial Issues in the Classroom," urging the need first for facts, then for thought, and then for carefully considered attitudes. He stresses the need to respect the child and to avoid imposing the teacher's attitudes on the class. The transcript of the demonstration lesson led by Mr Hatch at

St. Louis last February is quoted at some length. Howard E. Jenkins of Duke University discusses "Mental Hygiene and the Social Science Teacher in Secondary Education." George T. Avery of Colorado State College writes on "The Psychological Background of a Teacher of Social Science," stressing the practical implications of recent developments in adolescent psychology, and commenting on the careless use of the "I. Q.," and on developments in testing. Paul H. Furfey of Catholic University contributes an article on "Sociology and the School Teacher."

In describing "Some Features of the Core Curriculum in the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School," A. R. Mead (*Educational Method*, November, 1936) outlines the principles governing the building of a school program that is integrated through the ninth year. Mr Mead's article is chiefly concerned with the junior high school. The seventh year program includes attention to myths and legends, the local community, the interdependence of farm and city, state government, the development of an historical pageant dealing with American History, courtesy, and international relations. In the eighth year there is provision for "exploring facts about government" and consideration of "high lights in American History," with attention to the United States and Foreign Affairs and to contributions of young people to their homes. The only unit directly concerned with social studies in the ninth year program concerns the newspaper and its influence. Some basic assumptions are listed and specific phases of integration outlined. This program is also considered, as already noted, by G. Ballard Simmons in the November issue of *Education* in an article called "Social Science in the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School."

In the November issue of *The Clearing House* H. C. Hawk describes an effort in the Winfield, Kansas, high school to de-

velop international understanding through a carefully organized project in international correspondence together with an international exchange of art, home economics, or other materials, and a system of clubs. Specific suggestions for procedure are included.

The same issue of *The Clearing House* has an account by Elias Katz of "Making Movies in the Classroom" at the Lincoln and Horace Mann schools of Teachers College, Columbia University. Pupils cooperated in preparing the script, settings, and costumes, and in the acting, photography, and sound effects. The two projects described were worked out in social-studies classes in integrated programs. Another article by L. V. Hendricks describes an effort at "Integrating Social Studies, English and General Science for Ninth Year Retarded Pupils." Four chief topics are presented: (1) problems surrounding the home; (2) the community, including local government; (3) the problem of making a living; (4) the use of sun and earth in making life more abundant; growing gardens, care of soil, etc. The unit on homes is outlined.

"The Motion Picture in its Educational and Social Aspects" is the subject of seven articles in the *Journal of Educational Sociology* for November. The nature and scope of motion pictures, their use in education, amateur production, and the work of the National Board of review are among the subjects treated.

*Progressive Education* carries in its November issue adaptations of stenographic reports of three speeches delivered at the Seventh World Conference of the New Education Fellowship, at Cheltenham, England. Professor Chang-Peng-Chun of Nankai University discussed "Inter-Cultural Contacts and Creative Adjustment," pointing to the rapid spread of European culture over the world in modern times, and noting that the attendant use of force has left an

intensity of ill-feeling. He objected that the easy recommendation that each group "keep what is good in one's culture, and take on what is good from others" leaves unsettled the questions of what is good, and of what is involved in keeping and taking elements of culture. "Creative adjustment," he suggested, implies, first, recognition of a "fringe of dissatisfaction," second, an extensive survey for suggestion and stimulation, and, third, a "liberated inventiveness." Illustrations are drawn from European and from Chinese history.

Professor G. P. Gooch developed the nature and relationship of "Personal Freedom and the International Anarchy." Defining personal freedom as "the flowering of personality" he sketched the "emergence of the individual" in ancient Egypt, Athenian democracy, Christianity, the Italian Renaissance, Puritanism, the enlightenment, and the nineteenth century emergence of the common man. "Civilization," he declared, "can, to a very great extent, be tested by the importance which is attached to the individual, the importance which is attached to his spiritual rights and his independence . . . the most civilized countries in the world today are those in which the individual counts for most. . . ." The European anarchy Professor Gooch identified with the rise of the doctrine of unfettered national sovereignty, continuing on in a shrinking world. The concentration of power, the omnipotence of the state, has brought a postwar world in which there is less personal freedom and the revival of personal dictatorships. Professor Gooch hoped that the phase would gradually pass away, reiterating the conviction that "man is born to develop, born to climb, born to experiment; that there is something within him which will in the long run make it possible for him to do what we have not done—to combine order and liberty."

Professor R. H. Tawney, in "Education and the Economic Order," urged that "the only tolerable principle for a civilized com-



munity is a complete educational equality." He found past and current educational practice in England has fallen considerably short of that ideal, and remarked that "from a very early age we have carefully organized social misunderstanding through our educational system at great expense."

The *Journal of Higher Education* prints in its October issue an article by Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota, "Art Returns to Education." Welcoming the contributions of the science of education to teaching during recent years, Dr Krey directs attention to personality factors and to fine adaptation—subjective elements which justify his conclusion that now "the art of teaching returns to education, not as an enemy, but as an incentive, to science."

#### NEW TITLES AND LISTS

The National Occupational Conference has recently published appraisals and abstracts of available literature on landscape architecture, dietetics, painting, and the occupations of the letter carrier and the police officer. Single copies are ten cents. They may be obtained, together with information about previous bulletins, at 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dr Henry Harap of the Ohio State University has issued a five-page list of "Current Source Materials for the Study of Social and Economic Problems in Secondary Schools" (Bulletin No. 58, Curriculum Laboratory, Box 3042, University Station, Columbus, Ohio. 5 cents). Periodicals both for pupils and for pupils and teachers, free government publications, surveys of business, indexes to current information, suggested desk volumes, bulletins, and pamphlets, and other inexpensive publications are listed.

*High Points* (published by the Board of Education, New York City) carries in its October issue a nine-page "Bibliography on Peace," by B. Greenbaum and M. A.

Conklin. Fiction and non-fiction, periodical literature and full length books, are all represented. Most of the items have appeared since 1930.

Teachers of the social studies will wish to consult a useful finding-list of decorative and pictorial maps and display materials included in Anne E. Hoke, "Decorative Material for the High School Library," *Reading and the High School Library*, III (November-December, 1936), 31-33, 64. The list comprises sources, historical decorative maps, state and district maps, and maps primarily useful for geography. Sources include commercial distributors, governmental agencies, and business organizations. The latter are always willing to create good will and gain an entrée to the schools through the distribution of free materials, some of which are useful teaching aids. Teachers in schools that do not prohibit the use of such free materials will use discrimination in selection.

Teachers of modern problems may find useful the two bulletins, seven and sixteen pages long, entitled "Current References on American Youth Problems" published in November and December by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington D. C. Both periodical and book titles are listed.

The Bibliography of *Research Studies in Education*, 1934-1935 (U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Bulletin, 1936, No. 5) includes the following titles in the social studies field: Donald W. Campbell, "Effectiveness of teaching technique in influencing pupils' attitudes towards peace and war" (Pennsylvania State University); Lawrence T. Crawford, "A comparative study of the information possessed by certain groups of teachers on contemporary social, political, and economic problems and issues" (University of California); Michael Levine, "A critical analysis

and evaluation of selected secondary-school textbooks in American history in the light of educational research" (New York University); Gordon E. McCloskey, "An Appraisal of Certain Phases of Economic Instruction in the Secondary Schools of New Jersey" (Columbia University); Reginald Robinson, "The leisure-time activities of public-school children from ten to eighteen years of age attending junior high school on the lower west side of New York City" (New York University); Agnew O. Roorbach, "The development of the social studies in American secondary education" (University of Pennsylvania); Paul H. Sheats, "Effects of the depression on certain issues in American education (Yale University); Simon B. Spradlin, "Studies in the history of history teaching" (University of Oklahoma); John W. Taylor, "Youth Welfare in Germany: a study of governmental action relative to care of the normal German youth" (Columbia University); Harold S. Tuttle, "A study of the influence of campus agencies on the increase of social mindedness of college freshmen" (Columbia University); and John J. Young, "The legal bases for the teaching of social sciences in the public schools of the United States" (New York University).

### ASSOCIATIONS

#### RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT

**T**HE following announcement of the American Historical Association will be of interest to teachers of history, contemporary problems, and current events:—

Early in the new year, the Columbia Broadcasting System will start a series of broadcasts of history.

This will take the form of talks on the historical background of current events. The point of departure for each talk will be some matter of current interest which at the moment occupies the headlines of the daily press—the New Deal, Supreme Court, the Constitution, Nobel prizes, England, Spain, Germany, Japan, no matter what. The actual contents will be historical.

The American Historical Association will be responsible for the history in the broadcasts. Professional historians will provide the facts regarding past events, events that have had a part in the development which finds its contemporary expression in the news item selected.

We do not contemplate a series of learned discourses. The expert historians will provide the history, but they will not give the talks. A professional broadcaster, one who knows the interest of his audience and how to reach it, cooperating with the historian for the facts, will do this. Thus we believe that through the joint efforts of the Columbia Broadcasting System and the American Historical Association something quite new is about to appear in radio—sound, undistorted history attached to matters of immediate concern, and told in terms that will interest everyone.

Detailed announcements regarding time and radio stations will appear in the radio columns of the daily press. The Radio Committee of the American Historical Association will welcome any ideas, suggestions or questions regarding the series. We hope that the talks will stimulate the listening public to wider reading. As far as we are able, we shall undertake to supply supplementary reading lists.

#### RADIO COMMITTEE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

**A** CONFERENCE for secondary-school teachers of social-science subjects was held at Iowa State Teachers College on October 24, under the chairmanship of Professor W. R. Thompson. Miss Ernestine Smith, supervisor of the College High School, in treating problems of junior high school teaching, emphasized the need for realism, for active participation by all pupils, and for adequate attention to chronology. Professor Howard C. Hill, of the University of Chicago, called attention to some of "Our Common Obligations as Social Science Teachers"—to the necessity for teaching good English, for teaching how to study, and for teaching citizenship. Professor I. H. Hart of Iowa State Teachers College spoke at the luncheon session on "Academic Freedom in the Teaching of Social Science," reviewing restrictive legislation. The afternoon panel discussion developed some criticisms of "unit" organization and some scepticism as to the possibilities of integrating the social sciences. Dr Hill called attention to the economic basis of most of our major contemporary problems.

The History Section of the Wisconsin Education Association met in Milwaukee on November 6. Professor Harry D. Gideonse of the University of Chicago ad-

addressed the group on "Some Reflections on Freedom and Order." Miss Margaret Abraham of Appleton was elected chairman for the coming year, succeeding Miss Bernice Cadman of Janesville. Mr Bert Wells of Madison was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

This History Section has two meetings annually, one in November in connection with the convention of the Wisconsin Education Association in Milwaukee and an independent session held in Madison early in May.

R. O. Hughes, president of the National Council for the Social Studies gave three addresses before the social studies teachers at the state convention of the Minnesota Education Association in St. Paul on November 7, 1936. He presented a proposed curriculum for the social studies, discussed the problem of integration, and reported a series of typical mistakes of history teachers.

J. R. Mashek of the University of Minnesota High School discussed the problem of adjusting the curriculum to social needs before the social-studies section of the Wisconsin Teachers Association at Milwaukee on November 7, 1936.

The New England History Teachers' Association held its annual fall meeting at Boston University and the Copley Square Hotel on November 7. At the morning session Professor F. A. Cleveland of Boston University spoke on "The Sino-Japanese Situation," and Professor A. H. Inlah of Tufts College compared "Peace Making, 1815 and 1919." The luncheon meeting was addressed by Professor A. R. Foley of Dartmouth College.

The annual fall meeting of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers was held at Teachers College, Columbia University, on November 20-21, with the co-operation of seven other organizations. Professor Henry Johnson presided at a session devoted to "The Professional Preparation and Continued Growth of Teachers." Professor Howard E.

Wilson considered "New Standards for Teachers of the Social Studies," with some attention to the new program at Harvard. Miss Erma K. Rolar of the State Teachers College, Shippensburg, Pa., discussed "Training Schools in Teacher Preparation." Miss Mabel Skinner of the Washington Irving High School, New York City, delighted those present with a sympathetic and telling analysis of "The Problem of the 'Retarded' Teacher." At the dinner meeting Professor Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania read a distinguished paper on "Intellectual Freedom in a Democracy." Professor Ella Lonn, president of the Association, presided at the morning session on November 21. The general theme, "Integration in School and College," was developed by Professor Horace Taylor of Columbia University, who summarized and evaluated "Seventeen Years of Contemporary Civilization in Columbia College," and by Professor Harold Rugg, whose subject was "Seventeen Years of Social Studies in the Schools: an Appraisal." The meetings closed with a luncheon at which Professor Harry Carman described "The New Deal in Action" in the paper published in this issue. Most of the papers will appear in the 1936 *Proceedings* of the Association. The spring meeting will be held in Philadelphia on May 7-8.

The Social Science Section of the New York Society for the Experimental Study of Education, Dr Michael Levine, chairman, has met twice during the fall. On October 23, Mr Benjamin Fox of the Brooklyn Boys Vocational High School spoke on "The Social Studies Curriculum in the Vocational High Schools." On December 11, Professor Paul R. Radosavljevich of New York University described "Social Education in Italy, Past and Present." A third meeting will be held at New York University on February 5 at eight o'clock. "Vital Issues in Curriculum Making in the Social Studies" will be discussed by Professor D. C. Knowlton of New York University and Professor



J. M. Gambrill of Teachers College, Columbia University.

The Kentucky Council for the Social Studies, recently organized, held its first annual meeting at Bowling Green on the campus of Western Teachers College, November 6-7. The permanent Council grew out of a meeting of interested teachers who met to form a tentative organization during the Kentucky Education Association sessions last April in Louisville. An executive committee arranged the details of the first meeting which was attended by over one hundred teachers and educators. At the Bowling Green meeting a constitution was adopted, and an arrangement for affiliation with the National Council for the Social Studies was approved. The officers are Mr E. F. Hartford, duPont Manual Training High School, Louisville, president, Mr D. T. Cooper, principal, Washington Junior High School, Paducah, vice-president, and Miss Ercel Jane Egbert, Western Kentucky Teachers College, Bowling Green, secretary-treasurer. The directors are Dr A. M. Stickles, Western Kentucky Teachers College, for colleges; Miss Margaret Campbell, Murray Teachers College, Murray, for senior high schools; Mr C. R. Rouse, Highlands High School, Fort Thomas, for junior high schools; and Miss Irene French, Daviess County High School, Owensboro, for elementary schools.

A group of social-studies teachers in Spokane, Washington, has completed the organization started last spring by adopting a constitution for "The Spokane Unit of the Pacific Northwest Council for the Social Studies." Other units are in process of organization. The constitution makes membership in the National Council a condition of membership in the local Council. Primary aims of the organization are: to improve the character of annual meetings of social-studies teachers, to foster research and surveys in the social studies, and in the teaching of the social studies, and in every

possible way to raise the level of social-studies teaching.

The annual conference at the State University of Iowa under the auspices of the department of history will be held on February 5-6, 1937. The speakers and topics include Professors James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, "History and a Changing World"; Robert C. Brooks of Swarthmore College, "Dictatorship"; Harry D. Gideonse of the University of Chicago, "Some Reflections on Freedom and Order"; and Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri, president of the National Council for the Social Studies, "Development Resistance to Propaganda through the Social Studies."

#### CURRICULUM CHANGES

"An Introduction to the Contemporary World" has been instituted in the ninth grade of the Rochester, New York, public schools. The units comprising the course are (1) the individual, his family and religion; (2) the natural stage for human activity; (3) modern economic life; (4) modern government, and (5) modern international relations.

Interesting possibilities for the study in high schools of the Far East and Latin America appeared in a conference of curriculum authorities of Denver and Colorado Springs held at Colorado Springs on November 11. Dr C. L. Cushman, director of curricula at Denver, called the meeting at the suggestion of Mr Upton Close, who participated. The need for Oriental and Latin American study was generally recognized, various experiments reviewed, possibilities canvassed, and available teaching materials surveyed. Greater emphasis on these two regions in existing history, world relations, and current events courses was recommended, together with the development of an elective specialized course to be given in the final year of secondary school.

## PERSONAL

Miss Alice Gibbons, chairman of the department of social sciences at the East High School, Rochester, New York, retires this month.

Miss Ruth West of Spokane, Miss Olive Oppenorth of Tacoma, and Miss Pearl Bennett of Seattle, were the Washington members of a group that spent six weeks in Japan last summer as guests of the Japanese Board of Industry.

The social studies teachers of the New York City schools are planning a testimonial luncheon in honor of Assistant Superintendent John L. Tildsley on Saturday, May 8 at the Hotel Pennsylvania. Dr Tildsley is to retire from the school system at the end of the spring term. This affair will be held under the auspices of the Association of Social Studies Teachers, which is a federation of history, civics, and economics teachers associations of the city. Among

other organizations which will cooperate are the Association of Social Studies Chairman, and the Social Science Section of the New York Society for the Experimental Study of Education. Lucian Lamm, chairman of the Social Studies Department at the Franklin K. Lane High School, is chairman of the committee on arrangements.

*Readers are invited to send in news of associations, including accounts of or plans for meetings, notes of curriculum changes or experiments, and personal items of general or regional interest. Items for the March issue should be sent by February 1.*

*Contributors to this issue include Julian C. Aldrich, Howard R. Anderson, Mary Christy, Elmer Ellis, Alice N. Gibbons, Henry Harap, E. F. Hartford, R. O. Hughes, Horace Kidger, W. G. Kimmel, Lucian Lamm, Michael Levine, Burr W. Phillips, M. R. Thompson, Edgar B. Wesley, and Ruth West.*

---

## BOOK REVIEWS

---

**Growth of the American People.** By Marcus W. Jernegan, Harry E. Carlson, and A. Clayton Ross. New York: Longmans, Green, 1934. 2nd ed., rev., 1936. Pp. xviii, 861, 1x. \$1.96.

"The need for a new senior high school text on American history was never more urgent than it is today," wrote these authors in 1934, explaining that "it is generally agreed that we are living in a new epoch," with a different social order and society. They add that, as can be agreed, "a most important function of history is to enable the student to understand how the present came to be, and to help him to act and think more intelligently in trying to solve current problems." Thus the whole sweep of our history is presented in an organization that is essentially chronological; two new chapters—"units"—have been added on the New Deal. One hundred and twelve pages carry the story to 1763, 170 to 1783, 476 to 1861, 595 to 1898, and 861 to 1936. These five periods are treated in twenty-five "units," of which four are devoted to "the development of American civilization"—to society, culture, and differences between the sections.

The volume is a full and competent narrative. An effort is made to give meaning to the great number of details through bold-face interpretive headings, most of which begin with "why" or "how." The emphasis is nevertheless on facts to be learned rather than on the development of power or even skills. In the pedagogical aids at the end of chapters, "projects" are topics for essays

which, like floor talks, debates, identifications, and map work, are all directed toward the learning of facts. Facts are essential, but they are the basis rather than the goal of historical study—as, it should be added, the authors plainly say. As the preface indicates, moreover, the teacher may readily adapt the text to his own purposes and procedures. He will be aided by the well-rounded narrative, the effective use of many brief quotations from sources, and by carefully selected readings. These include many college texts, volumes in the *Chronicles of America*, *Pageant of America*, *History of American Life Series*, biographies, collections, and some other works. No great attention is paid here or elsewhere to the special needs of the many "low ability" pupils now in senior high school.

The maps are generally adequate, though a few (pp. 24, 70, 379, 488-9, 714) are overloaded with irrelevant detail or lacking in clarity (pp. 58, 368, 493). Some graphs, diagrams, and tables are used. To this reviewer the illustrations are something less than mediocre. Imaginative reconstructions not so labelled, likenesses of persons selected without attention either to the period of life at which they were made or the validity of the likeness, and presented without comment, may break the monotony of printed pages, but they contribute little to effective teaching. Yet a few illustrations are made really to teach (pp. 103, 733, 766). Cartoons are sparingly used.

The three collaborators have provided a competent and well-rounded narrative,



organized to facilitate study and learning; in the hands of an able teacher it should attain their high purposes.

E. M. H.

**Our Nation's Development.** By Eugene C. Barker, William E. Dodd, and Henry S. Commager. New York: Row, Peterson, 1934. Pp. 784, xlv. \$2.20.

In justifying the publication of another text for secondary schools the publishers quote a paragraph from the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission on the Social Studies in which an effort is made to identify outstanding developments in American history. The preface calls attention to an organization that is both chronological and topical, to the allocation of more than half of the 784 pages to the period since 1865 and of less than thirty pages to military events, and to an interpretation which is "wholly social and largely economic," though not neglectful of political institutions and movements. The preface justly boasts of the clear and interesting style of the text, calls attention to previews, in which world events are noted, for each of the nine "units," to outlines which precede each of the twenty-five chapters, and to the attractive maps and end-papers.

The first four units, which cover the period to 1865 in 342 pages, are chronological. In the remaining five most of the topics are carried through from 1865 to 1934; several of these "chapters"—on the West, transportation and communications, and agriculture, for example—could be called units as justly as are the main headings under which they are placed. Bold-face paragraph headings are used frequently and helpfully. Review questions are organized around "major problems;" both are fresh and stimulating. "Investigational activities" are provided for each chapter, with page citations to volumes most of which should be available in well-stocked school libraries. Parallel readings on topics are also suggested; the suggestions are varied, well selected, include fiction, and

demonstrate an understanding of what can be expected of average and better than average pupils in senior high school.

The maps are unusually attractive and each is drawn to illustrate a single point. The use of black, white, and gray occasionally (pp. 30, 476) makes the differentiation of land and water difficult. The illustrations are fresh and selected with a view to teaching value; the sub-criptions are models. Several colored pictures are included, with full notes on the back. The pages are open and attractive, the type excellent.

The account of our history is well-rounded and full. All of our texts have considerably more detail than pupils can digest and remember. The details are necessary to illustrate and support major lines of development, but teachers need to be warned to subordinate the learning of much detail to the grasp of main themes. Perhaps it is not ungracious to remark that while commitment to social history implies attention to literature it is futile to list names of writers, their works, names of magazines, newspapers, and their editors, with a line—or even a paragraph—for each.

After the remark—I wish it could be final—that this is a distinguished text, one question still persists. What shall we do with the many pupils who cannot learn from a text like this?

E. M. H.

**Contemporary Problems in the United States.**

*Volume I.* By Horace Taylor with the collaboration of Columbia College Associates in economics, government, public law, history, and philosophy. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936-37 ed. Pp. xii, 488. \$2.75.

This is the fifth revision of this volume, a fact which speaks well of its usefulness and acceptability. Seven new chapters have been added in the present revision and parts of several other chapters substantially altered. The new chapters are: "The Financing of Corporations," "The Security Markets"; "Federal Regulation of Securities and Ex-

changes"; "Inflation"; "International Transactions"; "Farm Tenancy in the United States"; "Agricultural Planning." In spite of those seven chapters the authors succeeded in compressing the total number of pages, which suggests that still further compression is possible where repetitions have crept in. The factual material digested into this volume makes it a mine of information, which secondary school as well as college teachers cannot fail to find stimulating and convenient. The problem of economic security is the central theme about which the many contributions and comments are built. The whole demands the reader's strict attention, but one must not expect easy reading when he wishes to understand even one aspect of our topsy-turvy world.

E. LEWIS B. CURTIS

State Normal School  
Oneonta, New York

**Ancient History.** By Clarence Perkins. New York: Harper, 1936. Pp. xv, 662. \$3.50.

The author, professor of European history at the University of North Dakota and author of several books dealing with European and English history, has written a textbook for "the standard college course in ancient history." The author states that his "survey of ancient history is an attempt to trace the main steps in the history of ancient peoples and explain the contributions of each to world civilization" (p. xv). The volume contains twenty-nine chapters, conventional in arrangement and chronological in plan.

Like its predecessors in Harper's Historical Series this offering deals primarily with political and economic history. Approximately one-fourth of the space in the present volume is devoted to social and cultural history. In his discussion of cultural elements, the author proves almost uniformly disappointing; for example, Greek vase painting is accorded but brief and negative mention: "Only one form of Greek painting is known to us at first hand, the work of the humble vase painters; but the quality of the work was inferior, for in the fourth

century the Attic ceramic industry was declining" (p. 329). Five pages are allotted to Christianity. Nowhere are quotations from primary sources to be found.

Though advancing no new and original emphases or interpretations in this work, the author has conscientiously embodied the conclusions of modern scholars. Elimination of historical myths has scarcely strengthened the work. From the viewpoint of interest it is unfortunate that there has been no attempt to vivify the protagonists of historical episodes.

In Harper's Historical Series there are volumes of more significance than this latest contribution; especially should be noted Herbert Heaton's *Economic History of Europe* (1936), Henry Stephen Lucas's *The Renaissance and the Reformation*, (1934) and Oliver Perry Chitwood's *A History of Colonial America* (1931). Despite its shortcomings, however, college students will find this textbook adequate, though not exciting. The work is scarcely specialized enough to have value for a secondary-school teacher, nor is it sufficiently beyond the high school level in content and interpretation for a high-school student to consult it in the preparation of special topics. Each chapter is followed by selective bibliographical references as well as topical bibliographies. There are nine full page black-and-white maps and numerous photographs.

IRENE E. LEMON

Horace Mann High School  
New York City

**An Historical Geography of Europe.** By Gordon East. New York: Dutton, 1936. Pp. xx, 471, index, 58 maps and diagrams. \$5.00.

The author, one of the younger British geographers, is lecturer in historical geography at the London School of Economics and Political Science. In this book he reveals himself as a man of more than average scholarship, who is able to envision the tremendous sweep of human history in Europe without losing himself in the details. At the outset he dismisses the current mis-

conception that historical geography is "a study which somehow concerns history and maps" and correctly redefines it as the examination "of the activity of human societies in relation to their habitats, which at the same time offer them opportunities and set them limitations." He goes on to say that "the historical geography of Europe is its human geography (human ecology) at the successive stages of civilization through which it has passed." This outlines the theme of the book in its analysis of European development from the time of the Roman Empire to the opening of the twentieth century. "The complexities of European culture . . . make it virtually impossible to treat the human geography of Europe as a whole," and hence three separate threads have been carried through the analysis. This has given the book a tripartite arrangement. Part I deals with the geography of settlement, or demography, part II with political geography, or state-building, and part III with economic geography, or the web of industry and trade.

The author sets forth what to most people is a novel idea, that the present day human geography of Europe is largely the cumulative "inheritance of a succession of past geographies." Historical geography, therefore, has less of an "antiquarian interest" than it does a "direct relevance to the present. . . . Today . . . political forces largely distort the application in Europe . . . of the geographical theory of production and exchange," and "it is tempting to suggest that all economic geography has become political geography." Finally, "the study of its historical geography helps to explain the fundamental disunity of Europe," a disunity so sharp as "to challenge the validity of the concept of Europe to denote a distinctive entity."

There is something fundamentally satisfying about this book in that, while it deals primarily with familiar or semi-familiar topics, it supplies at almost every point, materials complementary to those usually set forth in history. It thereby provides ex-

planations, definitions, and descriptions of many of those items that are merely alluded to by the historian and economist without respect for the fact that they are unknown to the reader. For these reasons the book should prove a veritable gold mine to the secondary-school teacher of history, geography, or social science, in providing an enriched background and in suggesting new motivations in presenting subject matter. Similarly, for the really inquiring student, it offers considerable promise as a reference book in European history or as a general source book for social studies.

GEORGE T. RENNER

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**A History of England.** By C. E. Carrington and J. Hampden Jackson. New York: Macmillan, revd. ed., 1936. Pp. xviii, 803. \$2.40.

The Oxonian authors of this volume, first published in 1932, intend it for the middle forms of the secondary schools; it is a chronological survey from the earliest times to the present, with occasional separate chapters on economic and constitutional matters. The preface states that: "the story is presented . . . from an international standpoint, and political history is subordinated to social history." In this respect it is to be noted that social history cannot be said to be given as much as one half of the space in Part I; the remainder of the book contains approximately one page of social, economic, and cultural history for every three and one half of a political and military nature.

Obviously, the chief criticism of the volume is to be made on the basis of its heavy stress on politics and war. A comparison of space allotment shows, for example, equal amounts given to the medieval manorial system and to the eighteenth century Jacobite rebellions; likewise, the strictly military history of the World War is dealt with in two chapters (twenty-three pages), as compared with one chapter (eleven pages) for the entire postwar period.



The exploits of Nelson and Wellington are presented in thirty-one pages, whereas the Industrial Revolution receives a scant thirteen. Mention must also be made of occasional lapses in interpretation. The authors have apparently neglected the work of Lybyer in connection with the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453; likewise, no American reviewer could avoid quoting the following: "Washington's work was only half done in 1783. For five years more he struggled to unite the thirteen colonies which he had set free and at last established a *Federal* constitution drawn up by his friend, Alexander Hamilton" (p. 541). Foreign relations are viewed from an international standpoint, with adequate sketches of continental and imperial political history, but Albion is seldom found perfidious.

The authors have, however, compiled a mountain of information for their prospective readers, and they have presented it in a highly readable and pleasant form. The text is garnished with apt selections from sources, literature, and standard histories, and with excellent photographs and sketches. Maps are generally clear, if not vivid, and charts, tables, and statistics are well selected and placed. There is a complete absence of bibliography or suggested readings. The style is almost entirely narrative in form, and is not without piquancy and humor.

W. C. ARMSTRONG

Horace Mann High School  
New York City

**Western Civilization in the Near East.** By Hans Kohn, trans. by E. W. Dickes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xi, and 330. \$3.50.

Professor Kohn's nativity of Prague, his German training, his close acquaintance with the peoples of the Near East, and his broad view of world affairs make him eminently qualified to write this book. In his earlier work, *History of Nationalism in the East* (1929, trans. of *Geschichte der Nationalen Bewegung*, 1928), he surveyed the

general field; in this (first published in German in 1934 as *Die Europäisierung des Orients*) he deals specifically with the Near East and its Europeanization.

The Levant, "the coast strip around the south-eastern basin of the Mediterranean," forms a natural bridge between East and West. Though nearer to the West, the Levant remained essentially a part of the "unchanging East." The Crusaders, the missionaries, and still later the commercial and political imperialists could not obliterate the barriers that separated the peoples of these countries from the West. In the twentieth century, though, and especially since the War, science and technique, industrialization and mechanization, have found their way into these countries under the patronage of nation-states. This process is thorough where the nation-state is all-powerful and independent, as Turkey and Iran-Persia; it is somewhat superficial, though quite revolutionary, where the peoples are still under the superimposed tutelage of the West as Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Yet in all these countries, including Iraq, under the guidance of unrelenting leaders, imbued with the idea of nationalism, more changes have taken place during the last dozen years than during the preceding century. All these changes are faithfully recorded by the author.

This is too valuable a work to be criticized for its minor yet not unimportant defects. The author's obvious delight in seeing these countries emancipated from the tutelage of the West dulls his sense of criticism; he seems to take it for granted that nationalism, which is becoming quite dangerous for the West, is turning into an "enlightened patriotism" in the Near East. It is more than surprising that he passes over such an important question in a manner altogether too facile.

A. O. SARKISSIAN.

University of Illinois

**The New Germany. Nationalist Socialist Government in Theory and Practice.** By Fritz Ermarth. American University Studies

in International Law and Relations. No. 2. Washington: Digest Press, 1936. Pp. xv, 203. \$2.00.

Here we have a thorough, careful, and fully documented treatise on Nazi Germany by an author who holds a law degree from both Heidelberg and Harvard. Based upon researches in German universities, at Harvard and the Brookings Institution, and upon actual experience in the German government, the book carries its own guarantee of value. With its comprehensive and excellent bibliography it has a place as an authoritative and very helpful reference book. After a brief introduction on the disintegration of German democracy and the rise of National Socialism, the author discusses the constitutional structure of the Third Reich and then devotes more than one-half the book to its economic aspect. It is especially in this section, "The Economic State," that the author relates National Socialism to world movements and historical processes; although the emphasis, perhaps, is too strong upon economic determinism. Thus one gains from *The New Germany* not only some adequate explanation of the Third Reich but also some understanding of that post-war phenomenon—the Totalitarian State.

MARY E. TOWNSEND

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**Under the Swastika.** By John B. Holt. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 254. \$2.50.

This book presents an interesting, simplified, accurate and objective account of Nazi Germany, its immediate origin, its basic ideas, and its political and economic structure. The author was a student in Germany during the crucial years from 1931 to 1934 and has published a book on German agriculture. He writes therefore both as a qualified critic and as an eye-witness of the stirring events of 1932-1933 that ushered Hitler into power.

Written sometimes in a dramatic style,

the book affords a clear exposition of those party conflicts which precipitated National Socialism together with a lucid description of the Authoritarian Folk State in its political, economic, social, and religious functioning. Especially interesting are those chapters entitled "The Political Education of German Youth" and "Nazi Science and the German University," reflecting the author's direct contacts both with "Youth" and "Universities." Indeed the author's phrase, "written out of my German experience" stamps the book with a reality and a directness that differentiate it from scholarly treatises on the subject, with their more careful attention to historical and philosophical origins of Nazism, and their more elaborate documentation. These qualities render it an extremely useful and handy volume for the non-specialist.

MARY E. TOWNSEND

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**Jefferson in Power, The Death Struggle of the Federalists.** By Claude G. Bowers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936. Pp. xix, 538. \$3.75.

Once again the author has laid teachers of the social studies under indebtedness to him. In discussions of current problems we lay great emphasis upon the use of the newspaper, but in our study of the past few can tap this source of information. Following the procedure in his *Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, *The Tragic Era*, and *Jefferson and Hamilton* he has made profitable use of "that rich mine of history in the rough" and other contemporary material and has presented a narrative at once sound and readable.

The main theme of the book is the rise of the Jeffersonian party to power and its dominance under Jefferson from 1801 to 1809; but it includes, also, the story of the decline of Federalism. It turns aside for a glimpse of the capital city, dubbed "Mayfair in the Mud," includes such striking character sketches as that of Randolph of Roanoke, rings the changes on the charges

and counter-charges in the impeachment of Judge Chase and the attempt to convict Aaron Burr of treason, and presents a timely account of the attempt to discover an economic substitute for war, along with an account of the fate of the rich Salem ship-owner who dared to support it.

In comparison with two other recent books in the field, J. T. Adams' *The Living Jefferson* (1936) and C. M. Wiltse's *The Jeffersonian Tradition* (1935), this book should prove much the most useful for most teachers. It contains many useful quotations, and, while furnishing a refreshing contrast to the traditional approach to this period, is probably not over-partisan. Writing from the American embassy in Madrid, the author is not unaware of the parallels between Jefferson's day and our own.

ALLEN R. FOLEY

Dartmouth College

**What Veblen Taught.** Selected writings of Thorstein Veblen. Edited with an introduction by Wesley C. Mitchell. New York: Viking Press, 1936. Pp. 503. \$3.00.

The son of Norwegian immigrants, Thorstein Bunde Veblen was born on a Wisconsin farm in 1857, the sixth of twelve children. Removing into Minnesota when young Thorstein was eight, the family settled in a congenial Scandinavian community where imported language and "strange" manners tended to persist. At school the children were exposed to the usual run of studies taught in the public schools of that day; but at home and in the small community group they were living in an atmosphere of old world lore and custom—a dual and probably insecure existence that helps to account for the odd twist in Veblen's character.

At seventeen Veblen entered the preparatory department of Carleton College, and at twenty the college proper, from which he graduated in 1880. Entering The Johns Hopkins University for graduate work and finding the fare not to his liking,

he soon withdrew and repaired to Yale University, where in 1884 he won his doctor's degree in the field of philosophy. Unsuccessful in his efforts to obtain an academic post, he then returned to his Minnesota farm where for six or seven years he read extensively, though aimlessly, and in the meantime developed the bitter, critical bias that was to characterize all his work. In 1891, low in spirit and, as usual, desperately short of funds, he went to Cornell University to do more intensive graduate work in economics. Thereafter he went to the faculties of the University of Chicago, Leland Stanford Junior University, the University of Missouri, and finally to the New School for Social Research in New York City, always hounded by lack of health, by poverty, and in addition—because of unconventional behavior—by marital troubles as well as insecurity of tenure in conventional university circles.

In 1929, on the eve of social and economic change that was to give his views new and wider currency, he died—thwarted, bitter, and little known outside the classrooms of institutions of higher learning. His will directed that there should be no memorials, no biography. The second wish has only recently been ably violated by Dr Joseph Dorfman in his *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York: Viking Press, 1934); and as for the first, Veblen himself left a chain of memorials in his published works scattered over a forty-year span.

*What Veblen Taught* is a collection of excerpts from Veblen's best-known books and essays, ably selected and arranged by Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, a close friend and disciple of Veblen.

Perhaps the most widely known of Veblen's books is *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, his first major work, published in 1899 (New York: Macmillan). It is a searching, satirical study of the origin and evolution of modern standards and customs. By what criteria do we achieve success, or behave in the most approved manner, appear to be the questions he has posed. For the



and a "charter" in the course of the book. *Plain Talk* is tonic for flagging or cynical spirits, if there are such among us. Here is inspiration and stimulation for those who must be the key workers in this comparatively new field. A questionable factor in the discussion of public affairs is the increasing use of the radio, of which this book does not take appreciable account. Although the plea is directed primarily to existing or potential leaders of adult education, the part that secondary school teachers must play is clear. Theirs is the preliminary job of training youth in public affairs and in the fundamental powers of expression and of observation. Teacher as he is, the author has included a series of questions and references at the end of each chapter.

*The Discussion of Human Affairs*, in more philosophical vein, very coolly and methodically knocks the bottom out of most of the usual conceptions of history. After showing that history as written is not nearly so objective as it pretends to be, the default of the so-called scientific history and the basic fallacies in other assumptions, as, for instance, that of cause and effect in historical development, are forcibly illustrated. The recurring theme is that history cannot be exact and, therefore, cannot be known, primarily because of the impossibility of encompassing all knowledge. The whole discourse leads to a clarification of the proper function of historiography in the rational discussion of human affairs, which is included in the whole field of history.

The author here turns debunker of the myths of historiography. Like a great leveler, he forces us to retract and to proceed much more cautiously. This would seem to apply especially to the writers of history, to whom the book probably has most meaning. However, the implication to the rest of us in the retail phase of the business is clear. It is that there are some things in which history can speak with a fair degree of certainty but many more in which only tenta-

tive statements can be made. Perhaps some of us did not realize that before.

WILLIAM H. MORRIS

High School  
Lewes, Delaware

**A Modern Reader. Essays on Present-Day Life and Culture.** Selected and edited with the collaboration of Walter Lippmann and Allan Nevins. New York: Heath, 1936. Pp. ix, 765. \$2.00.

The writings of these editors on contemporary politics and on American history are too well known to need introduction. Their present venture is intended primarily for college students. It assumes that such students already possess some knowledge of the great works and authors in the various branches of learning and hopes to supplement this knowledge by acquaintance with more contemporary ideas, problems and writers. The seventy-two essays are grouped under ten topics. Of the ten groups five relate directly to the social studies containing, as they do, essays on political, economic, and social trends, on "War and World Order" and on "America, Past and Present." The other topics treated are science, religion and morals, education, literature, and art. Each essay is preceded by a brief biographical note. At the end of the volume a nine-page booklist provides an ample guide to further readings.

An examination of *A Modern Reader* reveals certain principles by which the editors have apparently been guided in their selection of materials. They have, in the first place, sought to avoid extremes. No avowedly Communist or Fascist essay is included in the section on politics. Liberals and Conservatives are both represented, with the majority of the writers falling in the former category. They have in the second place avoided the definitely technical. So much so in one field, at least, that no professor of education is represented among the six authors of essays on "Education in Its Modern Aspects." Their third principle of selection has evidently been to avoid writing that is merely descriptive or in-

formative, in the narrow sense, for the critical and thought-provoking types of essay.

Widely as the editors have cast their net, *A Modern Reader* does not give, is not intended to give, a complete representation of contemporary writers and ideas; but for teachers, both in colleges and secondary schools, who wish to supplement their courses with the stimulus of fresh ideas, it is a useful volume, and one published at a low price.

T. P. PEARDON

Barnard College  
Columbia University

**Man and the Motor Car.** Edited by Albert W. Whitney. New York: National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters. Educational Series, Volume X. 1936. Pp. xvi, 256. \$1.00. More than 10 copies, \$.45 each.

Mr Whitney, associate general manager of the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, and vice-president in charge of education of the National Safety Council, is pre-eminently qualified for the preparation of a work on the safe operation of motor cars. To aid him in this project, an advisory council of prominent educators and automotive experts was formed. In concise and simplified form, the volume may be used as a textbook for secondary-school work or as a useful handbook for motorists.

Opening with a brief historical sketch of the automobile, the book goes on to discuss the practical operation of the motor car. Highways, skillful driving, and the cause and prevention of motor accidents are all thoroughly considered. The author takes particular pains to paint a vivid picture of the present horrible and needless slaughter of thousands of motorists and pedestrians. Various sensible propositions for dealing with the situation are advanced and considered.

Teachers in secondary schools will find this work particularly pertinent to their work in connection with the present safety campaigns being carried on in New York

and other states. Frequent drawings serve to illustrate the text in an interesting and informative manner. High-school students, soon to be our future motorists, should be encouraged to read and digest a study of this nature. The number of motor accidents, increasing annually, points to the neglect of this type of work in the past and justifies the increasing attention to it in many secondary schools.

**Inventing the Ship.** By S. C. Gilfillan. Chicago: Follett, 1935. Pp. xvi, 294. \$2.50.

The former curator of ships in the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, brings a thoroughgoing technological background into his work. His interest centers around the gradual series of inventions that have aided in the evolution of the ship, and he takes particular pains to attack the historical custom of crediting particular individuals with such inventions. A scholarly work from beginning to end, the book, as a whole, is rather advanced for secondary school students. Parts of the book, however, might be utilized for collateral reading in connection with social science and industrial art work.

**How We Have Conquered Distance.** By Maybell G. Bush and John F. Waddell. New York: Macmillan, 1934. Pp. xiii, 290. \$.96.

**The World's Messengers.** Hanson Hart Webster. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934. Pp. viii, 328. \$2.00.

In response to the demand for reading materials to be used in connection with the social sciences, especially in elementary schools, these two volumes appeared in 1934. The first of these attempts a survey of both transportation and communication. The second confines itself exclusively to the field of communication.

Miss Bush and Mr Waddell, both members of the state department of education in Wisconsin, have arranged their materials in simplified textbook form, illustrating it extensively with photographic materials, well calculated to arouse the interest of children in the subject matter of the text. The

unit system has been employed for use in teaching, with topic headings such as "Animals as Burden Bearers," "Iron Horses Draw Loads on Land," "Horseless Carriages Travel on Roads," and "Electricity Carries Messages." Exercises, to bring out the ideas of each unit, are added, as well as suggestive reading materials outside of the text.

Mr Webster, author of *Travel by Air, Land, and Sea*, and co-author of *The Ship Book*, presents the story of communication in a very thorough and systematic manner. Stress is laid in particular on modern means of communication, and the author narrates his material much in the manner of a story teller. Illustrations, mostly drawings but some photographs, enrich the material of the text. Reading lists are appended to each chapter. Perhaps the greatest weakness of this volume is the lack of unity between chapter and chapter. To a certain extent the story progresses backwards and actually winds up with the story of the earliest means of communication. However, the material is accurate and could be usefully employed for supplementary reading material.

ROBERT G. FIRMAN

High School  
Glen Cove, N. Y.

**The New Champlin Cyclopedia for Young Folks, "Places and Events"** edited by Lincoln MacVeagh. New York: Henry Holt, rev. ed. 1936. Pp. iv, 622. \$5.00 this vol.

Perhaps this volume of the six-volume set (I, "Persons"; II, "Places and Events"; III, "Literature, Art, and Mythology"; IV, "Plants and Animals"; V-VI, "Science and Invention") is the most valuable for social-science teachers of children too young to use larger reference works. It suffers from the inevitable inaccuracies, owing to its lack of space, and from some lack of knowledge of recent scholarly opinion; but on the whole it is a useful and thoroughly attractive volume.

K. E. C.

**Our America: A Survey of Contemporary America as Exemplified in the Lives and**

**Achievements of Twenty-four Men and Women drawn from Representative Fields.** By Adolph Gillis and Roland Ketchum. Boston: Little, Brown, 1936. Pp. xxviii, 428. \$1.28.

In this book the authors, each head of the English department in one of the Brooklyn high schools, aim to provide for high-school students a series of contemporary biographies in order "to throw light on current movements in the economic, social, and cultural fields" (p. xiv). Such an aim merits nothing but praise; and, since that must necessarily be largely a matter of personal judgment, one ought not quarrel with the selection of subjects, from Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller to Charles Evans Hughes, Frances Perkins, and Rexford Guy Tugwell, and to Amelia Earhart, Henry Louis Mencken, Seth Parker, and William Tompkins. Yet the book lacks the kind of interest and understanding that would make it valuable for the social-science teacher. The literary style is not distinguished, and the attempt to write down to the level of youth is apparent.

K. E. C.

**The Quebec Act.** By Charles H. Metzger. New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1936.

This monograph is an elaboration of a thesis submitted at the University of Michigan, under a different title, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctorate. As a result of a diligent study of colonial newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets, and the "pep meetings" of the friends of freedom who employed pantomime and effigy-burning as means of visual instruction, the author insists that the religious section of this bill, rather than the political, aroused fear and resentment.

The conclusions of this specialized study substantiate the viewpoint of Professor Van Tyne who some time ago asserted that "the historical muse . . . has worshipped too partially, the golden calf of economic causes." To him, religious bigotry and



sectarian antipathy were to be rated among the many causes of the Revolution. The value of Dr. Metzger's work is, therefore, in the assembling of a mass of historical detail to verify specifically this general conclusion. From New Hampshire to Virginia the press was vociferous in its denunciation of the section of the Quebec Act granting toleration to Quebec Catholics. Resolutions of town meetings and county and provincial assemblies add to the mass of evidence. The Continental Congress was flatteringly conciliatory and at the same time virulently effusive in its attitude on the subject, depending on whether they were addressing the inhabitants of Quebec for help or whether they were complaining to the English king and people. Further, hostility to the toleration provision was actively voiced by such leaders of the people as Sam and John Adams, the Lees, Charles, Richard and Arthur, Hamilton, Galloway, Silas Deane, Henry, Trumbull, Paine.

Since most textbooks today exaggerate the western lands phase of the act, the book should cause a reconsideration of the importance of the toleration clause as a cause of the Revolution. It is noteworthy that one of the recently published high school textbooks (M. W. Jernegan, H. E. Carlson and A. C. Ross, *The Growth of the American People*) has given this consideration.

LEO R. RYAN

James Madison High School  
Brooklyn, New York

#### **English Constitutional Documents Since 1832.**

Edited by Eugene Morrow Violette. New York: Macmillan, 1936. Pp. xi, 226.

This compilation of parliamentary acts supplements the familiar Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, which includes no measures passed since 1885. The selection is primarily political, though a few measures also touch social and economic development. As the preface indicates, the social reform of the past forty years awaits a separate volume. No editorial introduc-

tions or explanations are provided. The great acts instituting constitutional reform are, of course, included, as is the constitution of the Irish Free State. The measures that mark changing imperial relations do not appear. The volume will, of course, be chiefly valuable to college and university instructors.

E. M. H.

**The Making of the Constitution.** By Gertrude Hartman. New York: Social Science Publications, 140 East Sixty-third Street, 1936. Pp. 104.

In this year of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the constitutional convention much attention will no doubt be given to the constitution and its teaching. This small volume, bound in paper, sketches the history of the struggle for liberty in England and America as a background for the story, quickly told, of the formation, installation, and gradual modification of our framework of government. The accounts of the Great Charter, the growth of parliament, the Peasants' Revolt, the Reformation, and the rise of the middle class, are necessarily rapid, though space is found for some quotations. The history of the struggle for religious liberty is quite inadequate; the selection of themes and details for other aspects of the struggle are subject to some question. Several illustrations are included, mostly old—a few contemporary with the events they illustrate—though several imaginative reconstructions are included without comment. At the least the organization should prove suggestive to secondary-school teachers, for whom a separate guide, listing readings, has been prepared.

E. M. H.

**Propaganda and the News.** By Will Irwin. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936. Pp. vii, 325. \$2.75.

*Propaganda and the News* is a devastating account, from the inside, of the relations between these two powerful forces in our

contemporary life. The author, a veteran reporter with an unparalleled experience of wartime news hunting and censorship, has set down not merely some biographical reminiscences of extraordinary interest but a philosophy of freedom of expression that it would be difficult to match for authority or cogency.

Mr. Irwin begins with a brief review of the emergence of a news press in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and points how even the publication of news was limited or suppressed by governments intent on maintaining the monopoly of information on current politics in the hands of the small ruling class. When the right of publication of news had at last been vindicated—Milton contributed nobly in his *Areopagitica*, against the policy of his own political party—the conflict became one to champion the right of freedom of expression of opinion. The “liberty” of the First Amendment was not easily won—nor, he suggests, is it to be easily maintained. For not only is there the constant menace of oppressive legislation in periods of fear and intolerance, but a more subtle danger lurks in the very organization of modern controls of news and opinion by the myriad agencies that seek to color, distort, or fabricate them.

It is to the influence of the Great War and its aftermath in the development of propaganda—and counter-propaganda—agencies that Mr. Irwin devotes the major portion of his book. Not since Harold D. Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (1927) has anything so comprehensive, acute, or authoritative ap-

peared; and the chapters on the post-war period supplement and in many instances amplify Oscar W. Riegel's *Mobilizing for Chaos* (1934). Both are indispensable to an understanding of the constant drenching of the news in all countries with varying intensities of poisoned “stories,” in every field where profits or loyalties are at stake. There is an especially interesting and significant chapter on the radio as the newest, and least controllable, vehicle of propaganda. Although he considers our own situation the most fortunate, and our policy the wisest—private control with indirect government supervision by licensing—he observes the dangers implicit in the powers of the federal communications commission to refuse or revoke licenses for, “public interest, convenience or necessity.” He favors as great a freedom as possible for the radio as an instrument of education in the arts; in spite of its tendency at present to offer programs “below what the public really wants,” he believes that out of experimentation—which can occur only in freedom—will come a useful and significant medium of popular education.

He offers no panacea for the dilemma he portrays—except continued and untrammelled freedom. He takes his place with Milton, Fox, Jefferson, and, of our own time, Holmes and Brandeis, in the long line of those who find in freedom of opinion the best defense of democracy. His is a book that should make that defense more certain by pointing with unerring insight to the sources of its corruption.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Amherst College

# Publications Received

## HISTORY

- De Grunwald, Constantin. *Napoleon's Nemesis. The Life of Baron Stein*. New York: Scribner's, 1936. Pp. 321. \$3.75.
- Johnson, Jr., Thomas Cary. *Scientific Interests in the Old South*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1936. Pp. vii, 217. \$2.50.
- Metzger, S. J., Charles H. *The Quebec Act*. New York: U. S. Catholic Historical Society, 1936. Pp. x, 223.
- Soule, George. *The Future of Liberty*. New York: Macmillan, 1936. Pp. 187. \$2.00.
- Tatum, Jr., Edward Howland. *The United States and Europe, 1815-1823*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936. Pp. x, 315. \$3.00.

## ECONOMICS

- Coyle, David Cushman. *Uncommon Sense*. Washington, D. C.: National Home Library, 1936. Pp. 147. 25c.
- Geiger, George Raymond. *The Theory of the Land Question*. New York: Macmillan, 1936. Pp. xi, 237. \$2.00.
- Goodrich, Carter and others. *Migration and Economic Opportunity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936. Pp. xvii, 763. \$5.00.
- Shlakman, Vera. *Economic History of a Factory Town (Smith College Studies in History. Vol. XX, Nos. 1-4, 1936)*. Northampton, Mass.: Department of History of Smith College, 1936. Pp. 264. 75c.
- Tarbell, Ida M. *The Nationalizing of Business, 1878-1898*. New York: Macmillan, 1936. Pp. xvi, 313. \$4.00.

## POLITICAL SCIENCE

- Logan, Edward B., Editor. *The American Political Scene*. New York: Harper, 1936. Pp. viii, 264. \$1.50.
- Smith, T. V. *The Promise of American Politics*. 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. xxix, 307. \$2.50.
- Tombs, Laurence C. *International Organization in European Air Transport*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xii, 222. \$3.00.
- Works Progress Administration. Ross, Emerson, ed. *Report on Progress of the Works Program*. Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936. Pp. 146.

## EDUCATION

- American Association of Teachers Colleges and the American Library Association. *How Shall We Educate Teachers and Librarians for Library Service in the Schools?* New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 74. \$1.00. In paper.
- Association of Research Libraries, Donald B. Gilchrist, ed. *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities 1935-1936 (Number 3)*. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1936. Pp. xiii, 102. \$2.00.
- Beale, Howard K. *Are American Teachers Free?* Part XII: *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*. New York: Scribner's, 1936. Pp. xxiv, 855. \$3.50.
- Bennett, Wilma, compiler. *Occupations and Vocational Guidance*. 2nd revised edition. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1936. Pp. 123. \$1.25.



ican  
936.

ican  
rsity  
307.

gan-  
New  
936.

Em-  
the  
C.:  
936.

eges  
ion.  
and  
the  
ver-  
per.  
hald  
ions  
935-  
W.

thers  
mis-  
ork:  
. .  
ions  
ised  
936.

JRN

LIS  
ION